00088580

Bank of Baroda 1053

Processed at
The Preservation & conservation
Laboratory of
The Asiatic Society of Bombay
Date June-08

Digitized with financial assistance from
NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach
on 07 January, 2017

NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN SIND AND KAUBOOL,

IN 1838-9.

BY

RICHARD HARTLEY KENNEDY, M.D.

LATE CHIEF OF THE MEDICAL STAFF OF THE BOMBAY DIVISION OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.

88580

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

WC-e-1

TOWN LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1840.

954.7
Ken/Nar

21
C
54.73
52.1

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

March of the Grand Army.—Prevalence of jaundice from excessive heat.—The Ghiljy tribe.—One hundred and fifty camels stolen by them.—Estimated loss of men upon the march.—The Turnuck river.—Tradition respecting the Teer Undaz.—Ruined fortress of Kelaut-i-Ghiljy —its admirable site.—Singular natural phenomenon.—Accidental discovery of a murder.—Marching order of the army.—Unfounded reports.—Moderate prices at Gholjan.—Tedious march to Mukur.—Heavy rains.—Appearance of English meadow-flowers. . . . Page 1

CHAPTER II.

March to join head-quarters.—Vast area covered by our baggage-train.—First view of Ghizni.—Amusing military metamorphosis.—Attack on Ghizni commenced.—Ineffectual firing of the enemy.—Orders to move ground.—Strange combination of the sweet and terrible.—Ancient minarets.

—Great merit of the capture of Ghizni.—Mismanagement of the enemy—their formidable wall-guns.—Intelligence from Dost Mahomed's nephew.—Enemy assemble in our rear.—Prisoners beheaded by Shah Soojah.—Horrible mode of execution—its injustice.—Discreditable position of the British officials. . . . . Page 22

CHAPTER III.

Observations on the Official Reports of the capture of Ghizni.—Gallant conduct of the British Sick.—Account of Transactions within the fort.—Resistance of the Enemy.—Collisions with stragglers.—Praiseworthy conduct of the Surgical Department.—Hair-breadth escapes.—Defensive armour.—Curious surgical cases.—Amount of the prize-money.—Wulla Mahomed executed.—Visit to the Tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni.—Account of ancient Ghizni.—Arrival of Dost Mahomed's brother, the Nuwaub Jubul Khan, in the British camp—his kindness to British travellers—his reception by Shah Soojah. . . . 44

CHAPTER IV.

Order of march.—Altitude of our elevation.—Strong mountain defile.—Rumour of an attack.—Flight of Dost Mahomed.—Singular approach to Shekabad.—Cheap supply of fruit.—Accident from gunpowder.—Detachment sent to Kaubool.—Description of the intended field of battle.—The Hindoo Kosh.—Abundance of excellent fruit.—Cheapening a melon.—Laughable robbery.—General Hackwell.—Grateful conduct of the Shah.—His entry into Kaubool.—Disorderly Native salute. . . . 67

CHAPTER V.

Our communication with India restored.—Account of the Emperor Baber—his Tomb.—Funeral of Col. Arnold. —Reminiscences of him—his light-heartedness—his burial-place.—Remnant of an Armenian colony.—The ten lost Tribes of Israel.—The Four Rivers of Paradise.—The Affghans probably of Jewish origin.—Recreations of the army.—Architecture of Kaubool mean—abundantly supplied with water—its Bazaars.—Ancient Greek relics at Bameany.—Cashmere shawl-looms.—Hints to merchants on the gold-dust and opium trade.—Murder of Col. Herring.—Capture of the murderers. . . Page 85

CHAPTER VI.

Apology for a digression.—Meeting with an old acquaintance.—Great abilities of Mr. Lord.—His Report on Koondooz.—Order for our march.—Wish to remain in Affghanistan.—Frequency of murders.—Institution of "the Order of the Douranee Empire."—Description of the decoration of the Order.—Complaints of disappointed persons.—Dr. Harland the American—his figure and eccentric dress—his defection from the service of Dost Mahomed.—Through his courage and conduct the Affghans defeated the Seiks, in 1837.—His title to consideration at the hands of the British Government. 105

CHAPTER VII.

Homeward March.—Arrival at Ghizni.—Vanity of human grandeur.—Setting-in of winter.—Summerset of

our Chaplain into the Ghizni river.—Remains of two men missed at the time of our advance.—The Aubistad Lake.—Attempts to steal our camels.—Punishment of the culprits.—Intensity of mental as compared with bodily agony.—Severity of the weather.—Mortality among the camels.—Death of Major Keith.—Foraging parties fired on.—Receipt of letters and supplies.—Losses of individuals in camels, etc.—Temperature on the mountains. . . Page 121

CHAPTER VIII.

Measures taken against Miraub Khan.—Received opinion in the camp with respect to these proceedings.—Letter of Miraub Khan to General Willshire.—Detachment to Khelaut.—Return by the Bolan Pass.—Disgusting spectacle.—Duty of extending civilization.—Increase of the forage on our return.—Captain Hogg's narrow escape from being shot through mistake.—Our want of intelligence.—Fall of Khelaut.—Impolicy of distrusting the native soldiery.—Remarkable instance of Sir David Ochterlony's sagacity.—Practicability of the Gundava Pass. . . . 140

CHAPTER IX.

Cholera a contagious disease.—Death of Surgeon Forbes.—Report of the fall of Khelaut, and of the Russians marching on Khiva.—March to Rojaun.—Arrangements for the sick.—Deaths among the Officers from cholera and small-pox.—Gratifying effects of our expenditure.—The Residency at Shikarpore.—Neighbourhood of Sukkur.—Interesting landscape.—Description of the fort of Sukkur.—Anticipations of prosperity.—Military value of Kurachy.—Financial speculations.—Lofty minaret at

Sukkur. — Probable site of towns mentioned by the ancient Greeks. . . . . Page 168

CHAPTER X.

Sukkur.—Mild temperature.—Old friends.—House of Dr. Don.—Depôt General Hospital.—Remark of the Duke of Wellington.—Necessity of an improved provision for the sick.—Necessary expenditure of officers in the native regiments.—Propriety of their receiving an increased Government allowance.—Expediency of securing Heraut.—Orders for breaking up the Bombay division.—Military movements.—News of my promotion, with instructions to proceed to Bombay.—Arrangements for my departure.—My last evening at Sukkur.—Festival in honour of a native officer.—Observations on the Sattara affair. . 179

CHAPTER XI.

Voyage to Tatta with Col. Scott.—Col. Scott and the rats.—Changes in the Indus.—Gale of wind.—Iron steam-boats unfit for river navigation.—Construction of native boats.—Undermining process of the current.—Alligator fired at by Col. Scott.—Reception at Tatta.—Garra.—The ancient Barbarika.—Mouj-durria.—Great mortality in the 26th regiment of Native Infantry.—Harbour of Kurachy.—Ancient promontory Barake.—Dwarka.—Marriott's monument.—Parting glance at the ancient descriptions.—Bombay fisheries.—Return to Bombay.—Reflections.—Conclusion. 202

Official Documents. 229

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page
6, line 18, *for* "Pinhers" *read* "Pinhey."
29, „ 7, *for* "Pendari" *read* "Pindari."
66, „ 16, *for* "they" *read* "I."
180, head-line, and wherever else the name occurs, *for* "Larkhanu" *read* "Larkhana."
250, line 14, *for* "purgamah" *read* "purgunnah."
„ „ 15, *for* "Jumboseen" *read* "Jumboseer."

VOL. II.

51, line 6, *for* "Surgeon" *read* "Surgeons;" and line 15, *for* "Rancland" *read* "Rancland."
80, „ 14, *for* "Hackwell" *read* "Thackwell."
200, „ 13, *for* "Hock" *read* "Stock."
224, „ 1, *for* "Radaupore" *read* "Radanpore."

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

Fortress of Ghuzni . . *To face the Title.*
Fort and Harbour of Kurachy . . Page 152
Pulla Fishing (woodcut) 159

VOL. II.

Town and Citadel of Khelaut . *To face the Title.*
Ancient Minarets, Ghuzni (woodcut) . Page 31
Town of Kauboul and Citadel of Bala Hissar . 96
Kandahar Gate, Khelaut 154
Fortress of Bukkur 170

NARRATIVE

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE

ARMY OF THE INDUS,

IN 1838-9.

CHAPTER I.

March of the Grand Army.—Prevalence of jaundice from excessive heat.—The Ghiljy tribe.—One hundred and fifty camels stolen by them.—Estimated loss of men upon the march.—The Turnuck river.—Tradition respecting the Teer Undaz.—Ruined fortress of Kelaut-i-Ghiljy—Its admirable site.—Singular natural phenomenon.—Accidental discovery of a murder.—Marching order of the army.—Unfounded reports.—Moderate prices at Gholjan.—Tedious march to Mukur.—Heavy rains.—Appearance of English meadow-flowers.

The day of our departure from Kandahar, the 30th June, and those of the next few marches, were more like the Indian temperature of the summer solstice, than anything we experienced above the Bolan Pass. A high wind and

clouds of dust added to the discomfort of our position; but we were used to it, and should not have complained, had not the effect of exposure to such a temperature been shown in the prevalence of jaundice, which attacked great numbers, and particularly those who had hitherto appeared proof against the ordinary evils of the vicissitudes of climate.

The Ghiljy tribe, who occupy the district betwixt Kandahar and Ghizni, boast their descent from the ancient royal families of the country; at what period I never asked, but I believe that the sovereigns of the country were of their race within the last two centuries. They assert a species of wild independence, and Dost Mahomed had never been strong enough to subdue them into tax-paying subjects; the only object for which Asiatic rulers are disposed to think that subjects ought to exist.

On the arrival of Shah Soojah at Kandahar, they appear to have considered the future game in stronger hands, and made overtures: but, during the halt, they reassured themselves

to better hopes; and sent a Koraun to Shah Soojah, demanding that he should bind himself by an oath, to be recorded on the fly-leaf of the sacred book, to respect their independence and privileges, and that his future government should not be under the dictation of the infidels! Great exertion was made to win these savage children of the wilderness, but in vain; and it was soon found that, independently of their expectation of profit by preying upon us as plunderers exceeding all that could be offered them, the want of union among themselves, and the absence of all order and local government, left us no chance of escaping their depredations. Every village, from the Indus to Kaubool, was nothing more than a den of thieves.

Before our departure from Kandahar they were reported to be in the field in considerable numbers, and the two brigades sent out in quest of Scriva Khan had already indicated our apprehension of their force and courage; but they had attempted nothing beyond the most paltry cattle-stealing, save that on the

20th June a gang of about a hundred of them surprised the camel-men of her Majesty's 13th regiment whilst the cattle were out grazing within five miles of camp, and succeeded in carrying off the whole of the camels, amounting to about a hundred and fifty. Five European soldiers of the regiment were present, but unfortunately unarmed; and of these one was killed, and all the others wounded.

Captain Outram has stated that it was estimated on our arrival at Kandahar, "that at least five hundred Beloochies, Kaukurs, and Affghans had been slain by our troops since leaving Shikarpore and Larkhanu; the loss on our side being thirty or forty killed in open combat, besides some hundreds of followers murdered." I followed with the rear division, and can witness that on every march we found a few, and sometimes ten or a dozen bodies, left putrefying on the ground; a wretched spectacle in the face of Heaven, and deeply to be deplored that they were so left. But I would hope that the "hundreds" on both sides are a soldier's "rough notes;" and that the dead we saw, cer-

eastern face of the city; and exhibit in its new position, a most imposing sight of canvass, covering an extent of several miles, the undulations of the irregular ground affording the best advantage for display. At the base of these hills was a wide extent of level ground which is a marsh in winter, though quite dry at the end of August; but, before we left, the water was spreading over it, and we saw enough to know what it was likely to be. In this plain the amateurs of the turf were able to get up the Kaubool races; sundry matches of cricket were played, and there were the brigade parades.

In the far distance to the northward of the city, the lower levels of this plain are always under water through the driest summer, and form a lake of several miles in length, which increases in winter to a vast sheet of water, the resort of myriads of aquatic birds. This lake, in severe winters, is frozen over; and the last frost appears to have afforded the *détenus* at Kaubool the unusual sport of winter skating whilst on Indian duty and service.

The city and citadel of Kaubool will be drawn by a hundred artists, and described by a hundred scribblers; and I, the humblest of the whole herd, may pass it over as a very mean town compared with our Indian cities. Not a single building, except the bazaar, was worth visiting. The half-finished tomb of Timour Shah, the present King's father, was already a ruin in the decay of the last thirty years of the founder's exile, whose expulsion from Kaubool had left the work barely half completed: some thousands of blue pigeons and large bats had colonized the clefts and inequalities of the cupola and walls, and "no Imaum's voice was heard from mosque or minaret."

The site of the city is picturesque, and like that of the old city of Kandahar, is at the base and in the hollow of a crescent-shaped mountain, the ridges of which are crested with walls and towers of a very humble order of fortification, probably too extensive as well as too poor to be defended; though the precipitous face of the hill would be somewhat difficult to conquer,

and important event, than an impossibly long shot.

Not a day passed without alarm of attempts by Ghiljies on our camels when grazing; and Major Cunningham, in command of the Poona Irregular Horse, had abundant opportunity of showing the mettle of his men, and his own unwearied vigilance and perseverance. No two men in the Bombay division did more than Major Cunningham and Captain Outram. The latter has been altogether omitted in the London Gazette; and Cunningham, though promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, was no gainer thereby, since, though he served as Major at Ghizni, his regimental commission of Lieutenant-Colonel took effect in the preceding April. Consequently, his friends have a right to hope, that when it is known that the brevet is no benefit conferred, the honour of the C. B. conferred on all Lieutenant-Colonels holding independent commands during the campaign may be bestowed on him.

On the 6th of July we reached th

fortress of Kelaut-i-Ghiljy, the capital of the Ghiljy country: it is memorable in the history of the Sultann Bauber for his desperate assault and storm, and the gallantry of its brave garrison.

A sugar-loaf hill, of apparently three or four hundred feet elevation, very steep on the sides, with abundant space on the top for a fortified city, and two singularly abundant springs of sweet pure water gushing out of the hill at its summit, forms an admirable site for a native fort: the works were everywhere in a state of utter dilapidation, and the modern village is built two miles distant on the bank of the Turnuck. The Commander-in-chief and the Envoy, it was said, had reconnoitred the site with a view to the restoration of the fortification by Shah Soojah.

On the 8th of July we halted at Sher-i-Asp, the City of the Horse: I would hope that none of our antiquaries may find here the site of the city founded by Alexander in honour of Bucephalus! We were now enjoying the [illegible] of an ascent of probably two thousand

feet, having travelled upwards of ninety miles of steady and perceptible ascent: the thermometer was only 86° in our tents; and the nights cool, the morning air bracing and refreshing.

On the 9th, at Nouruk, the Rev. G. Pigott and myself were witnesses of a very singular natural phenomenon. For this and the next few days we found the bushes near the bank of the river covered with clouds of a large-sized bright-brown insect of the dragon-fly tribe, buzzing about and merrily enjoying their brief existence. Whilst sitting together, we observed a scaled reptile creeping up the tent-wall; at a certain height it stuck, and appeared shortly to be undergoing sundry throes and convulsions, which were sufficiently marked to attract our attention: finally, the scaly coat of the creature burst, and an enclosed winged insect very slowly extricated itself from its husky tenement, and gradually developed its gauzy wings, very different figure from the reptile on whose filmy transparent shell it remained perched. It was one of the [illegible] noisy dragon-flies, and this a[illegible]

their winging-time. How long it remained ere it took flight we did not observe; but the period that elapsed betwixt its being a creeping thing on the tent-wall, and its shaking off its earthly coil to expand its transparent wings for the regions of air, was less than two hours. Who would not envy such a translation from earth to heaven?

These brown insects appeared, however, to have little that was enviable in their lot: they were falling by thousands into the river, and shoals of fish were busy devouring them! Our anglers had much amusement, as our camp was always on the bank of the river. Two of them whilst pursuing their sports, either at the stage last mentioned or the next, observing two native Ghiljies standing knee-deep in water in a somewhat unusual manner, approached them to satisfy their curiosity: their movement not suiting the parties alluded to, they fled precipitately; and, on their moving, the body of one of our followers, whom they had murdered, [illegible] which they were standing to keep it [illegible] until the gentlemen should have

passed, rose to the surface, and was rolled over by the stream. The murderers, I believe, escaped.

We were marching at this time in three columns, the Bengal division leading, under the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by Sir Alexander Burnes, without whose local knowledge and personal influence not a step in advance could have been taken with safety.

The second column consisted of Shah Soojah, with a host of his hungry expectants, open-mouthed to beg and open-handed to receive, and the smallest donation most exceedingly well scrambled for; his new levies officered by British officers, with whom his majesty was far from popular: and a troop of the Bombay Horse Artillery. Mr. M'Naughten accompanied the Shah, and the public interest was consulted in giving the advanced post to Sir Alexander Burnes.

The third column, under General [illegible] consisted of the Bombay In[illegible] with the Poona Irregula[illegible] Cunningham, for o[illegible]

one thousand five hundred men. Our marches averaging under fourteen miles, were dependent on convenience for water; and were generally made betwixt two and three, and eight and nine A.M.; according as the distance travelled might be a few miles more or less, or the road offered particular obstructions: the pace of the artillery, and General Willshire's theory of halting, reduced our rate of travelling to less than two and a half miles per hour on the period spent betwixt the first bugle and the piling arms on the new ground. "Many men, many minds," says the proverb; for my own part, I humbly opine that where the soldier has from fifty to sixty pounds' weight to carry, and a distance of twelve or fourteen miles to march, and a solar temperature above 100° to bake in, the shorter the time he is about it the better. A marching rate of three [illegible] a half miles per hour steadily maintained, [illegible] arter of an hour's halt after travelling [illegible] uld carry a regiment over the [illegible] tigue than a slower pace [illegible] nd an hour to spare

till the tents should arrive would be better spent in sleep on the new ground than in unrefreshing halts, where the men stand laden with their packs and accoutrements, and are not quite so comfortable as their officers, who dismount from their horses, smoke their cheroots the while, and appear exceedingly happy and at their ease.

On the 13th, at Chusma Thadi, a report was rife that a body of five hundred Ghiljies were prowling in our vicinity; and we had a repetition of our plagues of Jerruk in that extreme caution, which is military wisdom beyond a question, but very disagreeable, more especially to the civil department of the army.

The morning of the 14th, on the march of Punjuk, we had a military scene. Report announced that on the road we should come upon a notorious ravine most infamous for robber[illegible] and in which we were pretty sure, to [illegible] words of the order issued on [illegible] from Kandahar, to be "felt [illegible] those said words alluding [illegible]

blows to be adm[illegible]

and shoulders, but simply that the enemy were to be the men of feeling, figuratively, in any attempt they might be pleased to make to feel their way to our cattle and baggage.

When we had advanced about five miles, and it was broad daylight, Major Cunningham was called, and duly instructed to proceed in advance; and, when he reached this ravine, he was directed to scour it, and put to death every enemy he should find in it.

The Poona Horse were soon in fighting trim, dismantled of cloaks and Kumly shawls; and went off double-quick in a slanting direction, so as to come on the flank of any enemy that might be in the ravine, and were quickly out of sight. In another hour we came to the place. It was the green grassy hollow of a little rivulet, to which the sloping descended on either hand, and very gradually, [illegible] either rock, or precipice, or ravine, or [illegible] to hide an enemy: a less thievish- [illegible] scarcely saw in the whole [illegible] ingham had luckily seen [illegible] a bright

blade. It would have been as fortunate for Captain Swanson, our paymaster, if he had escaped with as clean a cloak; for, in passing the brook, his horse bungled at the leap, and came down in a manner that gave us all an alarm for our friend. He was happily unhurt, and this valley of apprehension was only memorable for his soiled uniform.

The next day, July 15th, we entered the territory of Dost Mahomed, having hitherto been in the independent Kandahar or Ghiljy country. Our halt was at Gholjan, remarkable for a battle fought against the Ghiljies by Nadir Shah, who appears to have considered that none but villains could be there, and to have put every being to death he could lay his hands on. A mound is shown designated Kauk Khana (the place of dust), meaning figuratively a grave, where the slaughtered Ghiljies were buried, and a pyramid of their severed heads erected on its summit.

By a strange and unexpected change we had once more a local bazaar supplied from the surrounding country. Our free expenditure, and

our unimaginable honesty, paying sterling money for whatever supplies the country could furnish, had been the marvel of gods and men; and as we had descended upon the country, like Jupiter upon Danaë, in a shower of gold, its whole resources were at last becoming available. During all the time that the bazaar prices in Kandahar had been never cheaper than five seers or ten pounds of flour for a rupee, and for the most part below two and a half seers or five pounds, and barley seldom cheaper than ten pounds for our horses, generally only six pounds, the bazaar of this district had supplied forty seers for a rupee; and the arrival of our army did not raise the prices beyond twelve seers of flour, and twenty-three seers of barley, for a rupee. Thus, had one-third of the army moved on so far, instead of halting at Kandahar, a less quantity might have been required there, which would have made it less dear; and such a brigade might have been fed and foraged here at one-tenth the rate it cost to provide for them at Kandahar.

The care of the gambler, who buys the whole

lottery, and wins the chief prize by paying more for it than it is worth, resembles the caution which leaves nothing to be decided by superior skill in strategy, and the superior discipline and bravery of troops, when the latter at least are indisputable; and will make no move but upon the unquestionable certainty of success, however incommensurate to the end to be attained the expenditure may be that must be incurred to secure such a certainty.

Still out of the evil may yet result some good; every thing that has appeared in our connection with the Punjaub has gone to show that some collision with the Seik power might soon have been forced upon us by its unmanageable military mass of half-disciplined fanatics; so that the strength, and wealth, and enterprise shown in this expedition for the restoration of Shah Soojah, may moderate that evil whenever it comes. All India too was in a ferment and excitement, the consequence of what has been designated Lord William Bentinck's non-interference system; and some-

thing was really requisite beyond paying off the five millions of the five per cent. loan, which had been seriously prepared for in April 1838, partly by two millions cash, and three millions to be raised by a new four per cent. loan. The worst of it is that it was requisite in the first place; and, in the second, that millions were spent when a comparatively small fraction of that expenditure judiciously administered might perhaps have sufficed.

The march from Gholjan to Mukur was in strict accordance with the best recorded military rules; every hillock was reconnoitred ere approached, and it cost us five and a half weary hours to march a stage of less than ten miles. We were told that the Shah's people had been attacked the preceding day, and had beaten off the enemy, killing from twenty to thirty of them: we saw four headless bodies in a humble muzjid, or Mahomedan place of prayer, near a very extensive burial-ground; the heads had been hacked off and carried away as trophies by the Shah's warriors, the bodies

had been brought hither apparently for burial by their friends. Had there been twenty killed, the whole number of twenty heads would no doubt have been produced to the Shah, and the headless bodies most probably seen by us.

On the evening of the 17th of July we had loud thunder, and threatening clouds, and wind and a storm at midnight. The following morning, on our march to Oba, we found that exceedingly heavy rains must have fallen in the hills, whence torrents were descending that had deluged the plain, and made our march tedious, and difficult for the artillery and baggage. When near Oba we heard distinct reports of heavy ordnance, and were at a loss to understand it; but, on arriving at Oba, we found that the Shah's camp had not moved, having been deluged with heavy rain, and that the artillery we had heard was his majesty's rejoicing for the blessing of rain. It was lucky for those who enjoyed it to be so gratified; but to troops in tents a fall of rain is no very great favour to

be thankful for. The Shah's column moved off before noon, and the same night it was again deluged by another fall; whilst, strange to say, the rear division had not a drop, though the loud thunder and vivid lightning of the preceding evening again occurred to intimate that mischief was abroad somewhere.

On the morning march of the 19th we were seriously incommoded by the effects of the rain. The country was now assuming a more interesting appearance; numerous wooded villages were seen, and signs of population and industry, with security of person and property, appeared beyond anything that had been observed since we left Sehwan.

We had now reached a very elevated region, and the heavy falls of rain had cooled and purified the air, so that we were enjoying the sweets of a delicious summer climate. It seemed strange to see the turf gaily blossoming with English meadow-flowers, and the face of the country covered with verdure; among my old acquaintances I was surprised to find

abundance of well-flavoured wild parsley, and only regretted the want of a boiled chicken to which the sauce seasoned with

> "Some sprigs from the bed
> Where children are bred"

seems indissolubly united, and no divorce allowable.

CHAPTER II.

March to join head-quarters.—Vast area covered by our baggage-train.—First view of Ghizni.—Amusing military metamorphosis.—Attack on Ghizni commenced.—Ineffectual firing of the enemy.—Orders to move ground.—Strange combination of the sweet and terrible.—Ancient minarets.—Great merit of the capture of Ghizni.—Mismanagement of the enemy—their formidable wall-guns.—Intelligence from Dost Mahomed's nephew.—Enemy assemble in our rear.—Prisoners beheaded by Shah Soojah.—Horrible mode of execution—its injustice.—Discreditable position of the British officials.

On Saturday, the 20th July, we had dined, and were anticipating a night's rest, but in homely phraseology we were "reckoning without our host;" for about eight in the evening arrived an express from the advance, directing our immediate march to join head-quarters. We had made a stage of sixteen miles in seven hours in the morning; that is to say, first bugle a quarter to one o'clock, march at

two o'clock, and arrival after nine o'clock, — a weary journey! Happy for those who had slept through the day; I had not. The bugle sounded, the line formed, and we marched at nine o'clock, and travelled till midnight, a distance under eight miles. We were told that the advanced columns were close to us, and we saw the fires of their pickets; and a line was assigned us to stretch our weary limbs on the ground, and snatch the brief repose allowed until daybreak, when we were again to advance.

Scarcely, however, had we made ourselves as comfortable as a military cloak on the bare heath, with a stone for a pillow, would allow, —and many a time have I less enjoyed a luxurious bed, with all the voluptuous appliances of repose, than I now blessed, my mother earth below, and the canopy of stars above,— scarcely had I selected my stony pillow, and closing my eyes had hoped to dream, like the Patriarch on the bare wold of Luz, of that mystic stair which unites earth to heaven, and is the thoroughfare for those holy protecting spirits whose influences we are taught

to consider exercised in our favour, when the harsh summons to move awoke us up, and we had to seek a new position. Ere we were finally arranged, our baggage train arrived, and the night was spent among camels and horses. We knew not the cause at the time, but were afterwards told that a midnight attack upon the camp was expected, and that the ground we were first on was considered too exposed and open. The head-quarter camp was under arms and in readiness, but no attempt was made by the enemy to disturb us further than by false reports.

At four in the morning our line was forming, and at five we commenced our march on Ghizni: it had been estimated, with due attention to accuracy as far as it could be attained, that our baggage that morning, the whole army being together, covered sixteen square miles! I should have said double, had my uninformed opinion been asked as a mere matter of guess work. For the whole distance, nearly twelve miles, the country seemed everywhere covered with camels and followers; and,

as it was chiefly a broad open plain, without trees or hollows of any kind, the whole were at all times under observation.

The army moved in three parallel columns, prepared at a moment to form line, and take up position for action; and thus slowly advanced until the citadel of Ghizni was distinctly visible. At about ten o'clock we were halted, and the Bombay Cavalry Brigade, under Brigadier Scott, passed us very rapidly, proceeding to the rear, for the same reason for which we halted, to cover and protect the baggage, on another false report that the enemy's horsemen were threatening it.

These false reports were so frequent, and evidently so groundless, that too severe a censure cannot be expressed on the want of judgment and credulity of the authorities, whose duty it was to sift intelligence received from spies, and weigh the credit due to the individuals conveying it, ere they placed it in that official form which left a chief like ours, unaccustomed to the Asiatic character, no alternative but to incur some risk which he

could scarcely be a judge of, or to harass his troops by needless precaution and unnecessary fatigues. The latter generally occurred; and, from the first camp at the Hujamry to the last at Kaubool, we had the same repetition of idle reports, asserted to-day, proved false to-morrow, and never without some corresponding annoyance inflicted on some part of the army.

The party in which I rode was much amused at the military metamorphosis which took place this morning, of a quiet, sober-minded staff-officer of the civil department, into a fiery cavalier. Captain Swanson, Military Paymaster of the Bombay division, belonged to the 19th regiment Bombay Native Infantry; and, as something or other in the shape of a free and gentle passage of arms had been promised for the morning's amusement, he had as a matter of duty joined his regiment. We, who had been wont to know him, as a member of the staff-mess, one of the mildest of men and most obliging of paymasters, were amazed to see his tall, handsome, and manly figure,

mounted on his large grey, which on ordinary occasions had never looked half so big or half so fiery, coming galloping up, with "Move out of the way, gentlemen, if you please," and instantly taking up a point for his regiment, which had to form and halt where we had dismounted. My inward wonderment was, whether any change of circumstances could possibly have made me go over such ground at such a fashion; for, in our every-day temperament, my excellent and esteemed friend was fully as sober-sided a character, and as averse to any ultra-rapidity of locomotion, as myself.

The loud report of artillery now reached us, and it was evident that hostilities were commenced; but the play seemed chiefly on our side: an occasional gun was seen fired from the fort, whilst our shells fell thick and frequent. This continued apparently for an hour: at about eleven we moved onward; and reached our ground, barely out of gun-shot of the north-west angle of the fort, at twelve.

Captain Bulkely and I rode as near to the

fort as we thought safe, where a rising ground gave a close and full view of the whole north face: a serjeant of the Commissariat and some followers were there, and were taking great precaution, whilst indulging their curiosity, to keep under cover of a tomb on the crest of the hill. On our exposing ourselves upon the higher ground, they pointed out where a shot from the fort had struck; and the dint it had made, and the mark it had left, showed very clearly that we were much nearer and more within correct gun-shot than we imagined. Whilst quietly gazing about, we heard a loud report from the fort, and a shrill whistle in the air above our heads; and saw a cloud of dust rise about two hundred yards beyond us. If aimed at us, the shot was in a very good direction, but a trifle too high! It did not, however, fall harmlessly, as it killed a horse in the lines of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, and very quickly occasioned their moving ground to a more respectable distance.

We breakfasted at near two o'clock, and the unceasing labours of thirty-six hours had produced a weariness which soon sunk into

sound sleep; but it was very short: before four o'clock the order for moving ground was announced, the tents were quickly struck, and the poor camels again laden for another journey.

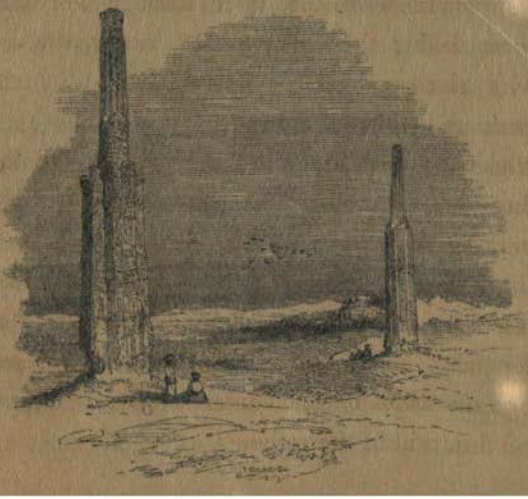
At six we were in motion, the baggage under protection of parties of cavalry; and all the artillery were to go by the circuitous level route along the western face of the fort, keeping at a distance of about three miles; and the infantry brigades were to climb the range of hills at the north-east angle on their northern side, and descend the southern into the plain, on the south-east angle of the town and fort of Ghizni.

I have seldom experienced the sweets of nature in all the balmy bloom and perfume of a summer evening so deliciously developed as whilst we crossed the Ghizni river and proceeded through the fragrant-blossomed clover-fields on its banks. The villagers from a rudely fortified village came out to look at us, and asked if we were proceeding to Kaubool: they evidently seemed to think we had tried the fort in the morning, and did not like it; they showed no personal alarm, and we were now

so well known in the country, and the villagers were either so little embued with feelings of loyalty to Dost Mahomed, or so strongly devoted to gain, that we were no sooner halted before Ghizni, than they were driving their asses laden with clover and lucerne for sale through our camp.

The march was laborious and difficult, up a very steep ascent on one side, and down a very precipitous descent on the other. The view from the summit of the hill was one of the most enchanting landscapes in the country: the windings of the river through its dark green fields; the expanse of the valley, studded with numerous villages, surrounded with luxuriant orchards; the fort every now and then discharging a heavy gun; the long line of the three brigades of infantry slowly but steadily working their laborious way over the rugged hill,—were a strange combination of the sweet and the terrible: and the destined destruction of the garrison before us, a matter of supposed certainty, added fearful interest to the sublime and beautiful of the scene.

The two celebrated minarets, the relics of ancient Ghizni, are in the plain at the southern side of these hills, and are brick pillars about one hundred feet high and not twelve feet diameter at the base, tapering to a column. Tradition states that they marked the extremities of the bazaar of ancient Ghizni: being about four hundred yards apart, they may easily have done so; and the legend, having nothing of the marvellous in it, may be the correct history of their origin.



We reached the ground destined for the new camp about eight in the evening. The enemy kept steadily firing as fast, probably, as they could load their guns,—perhaps once in five minutes; and the period betwixt seeing the flash and hearing the report, the muzzle of the gun being directed towards us, was just short of seven seconds, making the distance nearly or exactly a mile and a half. As a large part of the Bombay Infantry Brigade camp was nearer to the fort than the spot on which we stood to make this observation, the military reader may form his own idea of "the commanding number of guns," described in the dispatch; or more modestly reported by the engineer as "nine guns of different calibres," which defended the fort: this idea would further have been more correctly formed, had the engineer or artillery officer's report of the ordnance captured, their calibre, and the *status quo*, been annexed, as is usually done, to the dispatch. But let me not appear to detract from the merit of the brave men who stormed the fort within forty hours after the moment

I alluded to; and who were, at the time I speak of, slowly, and in the most incomparably perfect discipline, moving in brigades towards their ground of encampment.

The merit of the capture of Ghizni is great, and beyond all praise: but history will record it as due, first, to the engineer officers who planned and executed the bold manœuvre which opened the way for the assault; secondly, to Colonel Denny, who led the storming party, and has not been sufficiently mentioned; thirdly, to Brigadier Sale and the four gallant regiments under his command, her Majesty's 2nd, 13th, and 17th regiments, and the Bengal European regiment, forming a grand total under fifteen hundred strong; and fourthly, to there not being a single bottle of liquor available on any terms for the soldiers, and thus their incomparable bravery was only surpassed by their incomparable sobriety and good conduct,—not one atrocity was committed.

Further, the great glory of the affair of Ghizni is not more that it was "one of the most brilliant acts ever witnessed by the Commander-in-

chief during forty-five years' service in the four quarters of the globe;" but that the army was in a position where it was in a measure compromised by the results of the halt at Kandahar, and the unfortunate moment at which the death of Runjet Sing had occurred, by which Dost Mahomed's followers were so much encouraged and excited, might have had such an effect, that, if the fort had not been taken, a difficult retreat might have been very probably the eventual consequence; for in such case the enemy might have dared to commence a systematic resistance, and might have ventured to surround our baggage guards and foraging parties with his countless superiority of numbers.

The insanity of the besieged, in shutting up a thousand really valuable cavalry in an untenable fort, to be caught in a trap, shows in a brief view their infant simplicity or childish timidity. Cavalry in a fort would be nearly as useful as on board ship in a naval action; and their seeking the shelter of a wall, instead of disturbing our camp every night, harass-

ing our baggage-train every day, and assailing our advance and rear and flank guards, and foraging parties, whenever assailable, probably twenty times daily, during the long journey of four hundred miles from the Bolan Pass to Ghizni, betrays at a glance the metal they were made of.

But there was also more artillery than the "nine guns of different calibres;" and, though it could scarcely be designated a "commanding artillery," it had to be faced, and might perhaps have been better described. The hunter who kills a tiger or a bear, gives the measurement from the tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, and the length of claws and tusks; and the rough character of the savage contest is conjectured by the incidents and the result. The storm of Ghizni can hardly be compared to Badajoz or St. Sebastian's; but the enemy's Jinjals, or native artillery, might have been more dwelt on. They are formidable wall-guns of hammered iron, constructed in their own bazaars, and throw a ball of half a pound over

a range of a thousand yards; forming a very deadly arm for defending a wall or a position: they were, in fact, the strength of the place, and would have maintained the works long enough to have sorely disconcerted us, had there been fidelity, or courage, or conduct in the garrison.

The defection of Dost Mahomed's nephew, a shrewd intelligent man, and tenderly alive to his own interests and safety, who left the fort and deserted to us the night before we arrived at Ghizni, gave to the Engineer department the great advantage of a correct knowledge of the topography. They were instructed, before any reconnoissance was made of the "enemy's strength in guns and in other respects;" they were told where to dig without molestation, whence they could drain the "wet ditch, filled with water and unfordable;" finally, they where told where the magazine was palpably exposed to fire, a circumstance indicating the same ignorance in the governor of the garrison, which shut up his cavalry in a fort, stand-

ing as it did on the hill, open and undefended, to be blown up in half an hour whenever it should be an object with the British artillery to explode it.

These points detract nothing from the just praise due to Majors Thompson and Peat who opened the way, or to Colonel Denny who led, and Brigadier Sale who commanded, and the four gallant regiments who stormed, when, circumstances requiring a *coup de main* to enter, a *vive force* to carry the place at once and at so critical a moment was indispensable, and when delay was injury. They did their duty nobly; the only misfortune for them is that their gallantry has not had greater justice done to it in official documents.

Soldiers eat as well as fight. The indefatigable industry of our native camp-servants may be understood when I say that, marching as we had been almost forty-six hours on foot, and moving, the staff mess-tent was pitched, and a hot supper provided of abundant pro-

vision to serve for a late dinner. Our tents were all up before midnight, and I sought my bed to enjoy perfect rest.

The following day, the 22nd July, was a day of no ordinary interest. Before us was the fort firing its five-minute guns, apparently relying upon the noise to frighten us off, as crows are scared from a corn-field: they did not appear to fire at anything, the fire seemed for firing's sake; but the hill on our flank and rear presented a most formidable array of the enemy's rabble, covering the heights and clustering on the summits. It was not, I believe, considered desirable to employ the army generally against these people: had it been so, a fearful slaughter might have been made, for they put themselves most unaccountably forward, and showed the only spark of courage we had yet seen among them. Captain Outram attacked them at the head of a part of the Shah's levies, and defeated them with a very trifling loss on our side, and not much on theirs; as they did not stand for any close-

quarter work, and the force acting was too small for any flank movement to intercept their retreat.

It was on this occasion that so many prisoners were beheaded by Shah Soojah's order. On being brought in, the King seems to have thought it would be agreeable to look at them, and have a little conversation with them; and they were consequently paraded in the royal presence! His Majesty upbraided them roundly as rebels, &c.; whereon one more heroic than the rest, or more probably intoxicated with opium, reviled the Lord's anointed, as an infidel at heart and a friend and slave of infidels, and wounded one of the King's servants (a Peish Kidmut) with his dagger, on the menial, in the terror of horrified loyal sycophancy, attempting to stop his mouth, and the torrent of his abuse! The King, it is said, forthwith ordered the whole party, upwards of sixty in number, to be put to death.

Captain Outram's narrative slurs over this

affair in a manner that I hope silently shows his opinion of it; and his position may explain his motives for keeping such an opinion to himself. He describes the number of prisoners at about fifty; and says that one of them, "on being brought into the King's presence, stabbed one of the principal officers of state in the open durbar, — an offence for which the whole *are said* to have atoned with their lives."

I heard that the person wounded was a Peish Kidmut, and such a man may be a principal officer of state in an Asiatic durbar, where the scale of intellect and education betwixt the prince and his chief butler, and the chief baker and the prime minister, is not widely different; but why write that they were "*said to have atoned* with their lives," when everybody knew that a great many prisoners, in reality upwards of sixty, had been put to death?

A British officer of the Bombay column was said to have accidentally witnessed the de-

struction of these miserable creatures; and his statement as it reached me was, that they were huddled together pinioned, some sitting, some lying on the ground, some standing, and four or five executioners armed with heavy Affghan knives—a something betwixt a sword and a dagger, the shape of a carving-knife, two feet long in the blade, broad and heavy,—were very coolly, and in no sort of hurry, hacking and hewing at their necks one after the other, till all were beheaded.

The Bengal papers have attempted to charge the responsibility of this on Lord Keane. I would hope that when he heard of it, he may have given an English opinion in condemnation of it; but it is not likely that he could have had any intimation of it before it was all over. The Shah's camp was two miles from his tent, and it was a mere political question which would not be referred to him by Mr. M'Naughton.

The first folly of having brought such people at such a moment into the King's presence, and

so occasioning the outrage, should have palliated its atrocity and mitigated its punishment, as the wounded man did not die. But allowing that one life was justly forfeited, and that the audacious criminal who struck the King's servant in the King's presence was beyond mercy, the remaining sixty-four were prisoners of war; and to call Dost Mahomed and his sons rebels, and to talk of sparing their lives on the one hand, or of executing them on the other, can be justified by no law, and upheld by no reasoning under heaven.

It is little creditable to British honour to know that this could never have occurred but under the protection of the British artillery, and within the lines of a British camp: even the Ghizni dispatch exhibits the British Commander-in-chief soliciting the fulfilment of the Shah's promise to spare the life of his prisoner Hyder Khan, as if the bare possibility of the contrary could have been contemplated. But Mr. M'Naughton's letter to Captain Outram, published by the latter as the twenty-fifth chapter

of his Narrative, is enough, without further commentary, to show the courtier tone that was generally adopted. India was not won after this fashion, may God in his mercy grant that it be not lost thus!

CHAPTER III.

Observations on the Official Reports of the capture of Ghizni.—Gallant conduct of the British Sick.—Account of Transactions within the fort.—Resistance of the Enemy.—Collisions with stragglers.—Praiseworthy conduct of the Surgical Department.—Hair-breadth escapes.—Defensive Armour.—Curious surgical cases.—Amount of the prize-money.—Wulla Mahomed executed.—Visit to the Tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni.—Account of ancient Ghizni.—Arrival of Dost Mahomed's brother, the Nuwaub Jubul Khan, in the British camp—his kindness to British travellers—his reception by Shah Soojah.

The very clear and valuable reports on the taking of Ghizni, by Majors Thompson and Peat the engineer officers, are sufficient history. Their professional report should prevent my venturing a remark on the strength or otherwise of the fortifications: but in the first place they are evidences in their own favour; and though their great merit requires no over-

shaded picture, and their mild, unpretending character, in which they greatly resemble each other,—and it is the sure proof of excellence,—would forbid the possibility of the least intentional error, still the stronger the place the greater the praise. Thus we need not complain at their being "surprised to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse-braye and wet ditch;" a phraseology which, by the way, the dispatch has not only borrowed without acknowledgment, but has altered by leaving out a whole line, and the words "stated to be" when applying the epithet "unfavourable" to the ditch, thereby making nonsense of the "filled with water."

But I may state in defence of my own notion, that an officer of high rank, and remarkable for his services in the four quarters of the globe, but more remarkable still for a certain unvarnished and undisguised mode of delivering his opinion, and applying the eight parts of speech in his conversation,

was described as having been heard to say, when riding round the fort, one evening after the capture, that it was "but a rotten hole after all;" and, so far as I am capable of judging, I would say that, during the Dekkan war, Sir Lionel Smith, and the army under his command, took probably at least a score of forts, if not more, of which the weakest was stronger in its works and its position, and more capable of defence than Ghizni, and, generally speaking, with not one tenth of the force of artillery which was employed under Lord Keane.

On the evening before the storm, my duty led me to prepare the field-hospitals, &c. and to arrange for the expected casualties. On visiting the hospital-tents of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments, I was surprised to find them cleared of sick! The gallant fellows had all but risen in mutiny on their surgeons, and insisted on joining their comrades! none remained in hospital but the hopelessly bedridden, who literally could not crawl; and even of these, a portion, who could just stand and

walk, were dressed, and made to look like soldiers, to take the hospital guard: no effective man could be kept away!

This incident is invaluable for history. How high must be the moral character, the native inborn energy of a country, whose peasantry and operatives of every denomination—and the mixed classes whence the soldiery are drawn from the three kingdoms could produce a body of men beyond doubt a fair sample of the whole,—could show this heroic courage and contempt of danger, or rather love of the excitement and wild fortunes of a rush into a garrisoned town through the "imminent deadly breach,"-and the perilous edge of battle when it raged.

One of the chiefs in the garrison, describing the event, said that they had considered the army defeated on the 21st, and had so reported it to Dost Mahomed; that, when we moved ground that evening, they supposed we were off for Kaubool, and were surprised to see us encamp on the opposite side. On the evening of the 22nd it was evident that we

meant to besiege, and that night they were holding a council of war, at which Hyder Khan had proposed to send away all the females in the fort to a place of protection: his wishes were opposed; and they were breaking up the discussion, which had lasted through the night, when the explosion at the gate occurred, and the same moment the batteries on the hill opened. No one knew what had occurred; and the three leading companies of the advance, under Colonel Denny, were actually in the fort ere the enemy, generally, was aware that the gate was blown open; the explosion having been considered nothing more than the bursting of a shell; and, the whole party then on guard in the gateway having been killed by the explosion, no one had escaped to tell the tale or report the occurrence.

When it was found that the head of the column was actually in the fort, a party of the garrison rushed down, sword in hand, to the gate; and came at once on the rear company of the advance, the left flank company of the Bengal European regiment, which thus

suffered so much more severely than the others. "These swordsmen," (says Major Thompson) "were repulsed, and there was no more regular opposition." Some casualties occurred by the accidental collision of parties of the garrison endeavouring to escape, and cut their way through the advancing column of the assailants; and this explains what is termed in the dispatch "a desperate struggle within the fort for a considerable time," &c. and which appears to contradict the engineer's simple statement of what he himself witnessed.

"A few desperate characters," says Outram, "continued during the day to defend isolated houses, thereby wounding one officer, and killing and wounding several of the men; but before evening they had been all subdued, and the place was entirely clear of the garrison."

This passage is apt to convey an erroneous impression of very "desperate characters" indeed; and to defend isolated houses until evening, indicates a struggle of some importance through a long day.

I remember to have heard the firing and to have seen the smoke, and to have been told the same evening, by those who had just returned from the fort, that sundry small parties of the garrison, having been unable to escape, had endeavoured to conceal themselves in the recesses of certain houses in the town; and being accidentally stumbled upon, and discovered, by our straggling plundering parties, defended themselves, or assaulted our people, and that in this confusion and *mêlée* some accidents followed. This, having occurred several times, attracted notice, and a general search of the houses was ordered; during which examination the officer was wounded and the firing took place, which I think was about three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

Our duties in the field-hospital commenced with the first dawn of day; with which we descried, through the dim haze, the hospital doolies or litters, hastening to us with the wounded men. Six wounded officers and thirty-three men of the Bombay column devolved to my department; the wounded of the Bengal

division being provided for in their own lines. It was a fearful sight to open out huge gashes of sword-wounds, and a melancholy duty to sigh over those that were incurable. My zealous and able coadjutors, Staff-surgeon Pinhey, Surgeon Smith of her Majesty's 17th, and Hunter of her Majesty's 2nd, and Assistant-Surgeon Chatterton of the Poona Horse, deserved my warmest thanks for the admirable skill and promptness with which they discharged their painful duties. Assistant-Surgeons Thatcher and Cannan accompanied the storming party, and shared every danger with their military brethren. Assistant-Surgeons Watkins and Rancland of the Artillery, and Grant of the Engineer Corps, were stationed at the Artillery depôt, at the nearest spot to the fort under cover, and were at hand to assist all who were brought out requiring immediate treatment. All did their duty well. Many singular anecdotes were told of hair-breadth escapes, which no doubt occur to the same extent in all passages of arms. Captain Raitt of the Queen's Royals, when wounded in the hand, was cut

down, and felled to the ground by a sabre-blow, which happily inflicted only a moderate cut, being parried by the steel plate of his grenadier wing on his right shoulder: when down, another blow, which must otherwise have proved mortal, was fenced off by the metal lid of his drinking-horn slung to his side. Lieutenant Simmonds, Adjutant of the Queen's Royals, afterwards again severely wounded at Khelaut, owed his life to his having one of his official memorandum-books and his silk handkerchief in his cap: a heavy ball, apparently from a jinjal, severely wounded him in the head, notwithstanding the protection of the book, and, passing downwards, was again parried by the plate of his shoulder-strap. Captain Robinson, of the same regiment, would certainly have been killed by a sabre-wound on the head, had he not been protected by the coarse, thick leathern lining of a country-made forage-cap. There were several other cases; but these alone suffice to show that something in the way of moderate armour, that should protect and not incommode, might be introduced with great

advantage in the army. Here were three valuable officers preserved to their friends and the service by what seemed the merest casualty of accidental protection. The cuirass and helmet, and the steel gauntlet reaching nearly to the elbow, might be made very little more cumbersome than the present accoutrements, in which utility seems sacrificed without obtaining ornament. That extraordinary article, the sabre-tash, always appeared to me the most incomprehensibly useless relic of the age of pig-tails and grease and flour for a soldier's head-dress: but a native horseman once galloping past me, with his tobra dangling to his housings, convinced me that the original of the sabre-tash was the nose-bag; and I could not but regret that it should have been exchanged from a useful article to a useless encumbrance.

Macbeth delivers an opinion, which has been generally received as a very tolerably correct one in what are termed by hospital pupils surgical cases, that "when the brains were out the man would die;" yet, strange to say, a soldier

of her Majesty's 2nd Royals received an iron ball as big as a walnut in the spot of junction of the frontal and parietal bones of his skull, which made a hole an inch in diameter, and drove out a mass of the poor fellow's brains; and yet he lived fully eleven hours, insensible of course, but breathing and his heart acting.

A similar occurrence took place with one of the Beloochies shot at the top of the Bolan Pass. The bullet, a large carbine-ball, passed right through his brains, and he was found still breathing several hours afterwards: they sent for the doctor!—my poor friend Forbes, —who could only tell them that the miserable wretch was mortally wounded and insensible.

Of casualties in the garrison the most thrilling occurrence must be considered to be the fate of the gate-guard, whom Lieutenant Durand, when placing the powder-bags which were to blow the whole party to eternity, saw through the chinks of the gate, squatting in the gate-way smoking their hookahs, and no doubt perfectly well pleased with their position! Another moment, and they found death and bu-

rial in the explosion, and the ruin that it brought down hurtling over them.

It is worthy of observation that Major Peat refers to the jinjals or wall-guns in his first paragraph: they are very common in India, and could not, I should think, have been new to him. I should not from my experience value them as Major Peat does; but my opinion, as compared with his, is nothing: my remark went no further than to suggest that they ought to have been enumerated and mentioned in the "dispatch."

The place won, the next question became that of prize-money. The grain accumulated by the garrison for the siege, the horses captured, the military stores, &c. sold for nearly two lahks or about 20,000*l*. A sale of the relics of the fight, the horse-trappings and arms of the fallen defenders of Ghizni, realized considerably more than the worth of the articles, from the wish of parties to possess such trophies. A total of 25,000*l*. is supposed to be the probable amount of the booty to be divided.

The day after the fall of Ghizni, the arch-

traitor Haji Khan Kaukur entered our camp. How it fell out that he was allowed to remain in the rear at so critical a moment, I know not; but, had he been served as the sixty-five prisoners had been on the evening of the 22nd, there seems every reason to suppose that Captain Outram, who set the army in motion by procuring at Bhooj and Kurachy the camels requisite for our move from the Hujamry, would have closed the campaign by the capture of Dost Mahomed on his flight from Kaubool to Baumeean.

On the 25th July, says Outram, "the leader of the party which continued firing upon our soldiers on the 23rd instant after the town had surrendered, and who twice renewed hostilities after having actually sued for quarter, was this day shot by order of the Commander-in-chief." On the 16th July, it is said, "a native was shot by the sentence of a drum-head court-martial for wounding and robbing some of the camp followers." It might have been better had a drum-head court-martial preceded the business of the 25th. How any man, having

the power to order a court to sit to try and condemn a person undoubtedly guilty, should prefer ordering putting to death in the exercise of authority, when the delay involves no risk of evil, seems inexplicable; nor should such a power be permitted by the law of any country, much less of a "trial-by-jury" country.

The power to put to death a prisoner in cold blood without any public investigation or trial, supposes the power to destroy any other life whatsoever; and if we take into account the possibilities of insanity on the one hand, and blind obedience on the other, the hazards of the abuse of power are most fearful, and it is high time that such a law should be amended.

The circumstances connected with the capture of the unhappy man who suffered, and whose name was Wulla Mahomed, are most probably correctly stated by Captain Outram; the manner of his death was very affecting. The Commander-in-chief having heard some such charge as Captain Outram has related, probably the same verbatim, sent his Persian interpreter, Major Powell, on the evening

of the 24th, that is to say, twenty-six hours after the capture, to single out the culprit from among the other prisoners. Major Powell called out in a court-yard where the prisoners were, that he required Wulla Mahomed; and he, little dreaming of what was intended for him, sprang up with alacrity, and at once presented himself to Major Powell as one who probably fancied that he was "a man whom the King might delight to honour." He was led forth to camp; and the next morning marched to the rear of the staff lines, and shot by a party of the Bengal 35th regiment of Native Infantry.

Much public discussion has been excited by this tragical occurrence. As to the guilt of the sufferer, I should hope it was so established, that, in a civilized country and among educated men, the sentence of death would follow of strict necessity: but, among such people as those with whom we were in collision, the turpitude and heinousness of guilt are to be weighed by other shades of criminality than those which operate in European

warfare; and a high-toned generosity and clemency would have been the most honourable assumption of national and religious superiority.

On the 26th I visited the celebrated tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni, in a small village three miles east from the fort. It is a spot held sacred throughout the country, and is rich in historical association. A powerful stream of water, brought from the hills by an aqueduct, gushes out of the ground near the outer gate; and rolls, a lively, sparkling rivulet, through the valley, over a gravelly bed: and even now, the end of July, the most sultry week in summer drought, it distributed an abundant supply for an extensive garden and orchard cultivation. Several court-yards and covered passages require to be passed to reach the tomb: they are of the humblest pretension; the former small, the latter mud walls, with mud arched roofs of the meanest character.

In the second of these areas, a small garden, most probably the favourite resort of the monarch in his decaying age, were many relics

of Mahomed of Ghizni's invasion of Guzerat. The marble reservoirs of the watercourses were Hindoo, and designed in a fine taste; and, though the grotesque animals of the ancient Jain sculpture debased the classic elegance of the general outline or style, they fixed indisputably the religion and country of the artists. Precisely similar sculptures are to be found everywhere among the ruins of Chandrawutty, near Aboo; and it is more probable that these are the relics of that capital than of the temple of Somnath, that site being four hundred miles nearer to Ghizni.

The tomb itself is an oblong chamber, thirty-six feet by eighteen, and about thirty feet high, with a mud cupola: a more humble building over a monarch, and one so renowned, cannot be imagined. The grave-stone is of a very pure marble, originally most exquisitely polished, and, probably by being handled through eight hundred years by devotees, has assumed the appearance of being varnished: it is not larger than the most common tombstone, seven feet by four, and thirty inches

high; wrought over everywhere with Arabic inscriptions, and having a silk canopy stretched over it, with ostrich eggs and peacock feathers, abundantly numerous, hanging round the apartment.

The celebrated doors are said to be the sandal-wood gates of the old temple of Somnath. I examined them very carefully. I should not consider sandal-wood a very durable article, and eight hundred years is a Methuselah period of sublime longevity: no perfume whatever remained, but the colour and texture of the wood do certainly resemble those of sandal-wood, and of no other wood that I know except box-wood, which does not, I believe, exist in this country.

No Hindoo symbol of any kind, that I could recognise, existed. The ornament is a panelling in small compartments, each containing a star of six points, such as is formed of two interlaced triangles, which is used in free-masonry as the badge and jewel of the royal arch. This was wrought in a well-relieved fretwork of the most chaste and florid arabesque,

surrounded by borders of running patterned arabesques, that had no Arabic inscription, and consequently may be Hindoo.

The traditions of the country are good authority; and the Hindoo sovereign of the Punjaub, by soliciting that these gates should be restored to India and Hindooism, confirmed that authority; but, without having seen the marbles in the court-yard, I should have doubted it: though, with those proofs that numerous cumbersome relics of Guzerat have been certainly brought hither, it is nothing incredible that these beautifully sculptured, and at that period highly perfumed and costly doors, should have been conveyed also. I have mislaid my memorandum of measurement; but they were folding-doors, to the best of my recollection about eighteen feet high and five feet broad each, and about three inches thick.

It was with no ordinary feelings that I stood at Ghizni by the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni; my long residence in Guzerat, and intimate familiarity with its people, its histories, and its traditions, had made this de-

stroyer's name a sort of household word in my memory: and when the attendant priest of the tomb showed me, by his grave, the monarch's standard of green silk, and his ponderous mace, preserved through all the fortunes of thirty generations, my thoughts were unequal to realize the present, and the catastrophes of to-day, compared with the legends of eight hundred years, and the direful history of this man's doings.

A wilderness of gardens and orchards surrounds the village and the tomb; and, like Napoleon under his willow, this man of blood sleeps in peace in a sweet spot of great rural beauty. His fearful ravages are consecrated by bigotry as holy wars against infidels; and miracles are attributed to his grave, the very dust of which is swallowed by pilgrims from remote districts of Khorasaun. An excavation appears at the head of the tomb, whence a daily supply of fresh mould is dug up for the consumption of the faithful.

A vast extent of mounds, the relics of mud walls and ancient habitations, indicate the

site, and justify the traditions of the population and area of the old city of Ghizni in past ages. History states that this city has been twice buried in snow, to such a degree and for such a period that a large portion of its population perished: can this possibly be true? and is there any similar legend of the overthrow of any Scandinavian or Hyperborean capital?

At present, the city of Ghizni cannot contain a thousand houses, nor so many as five thousand inhabitants; but there are fine flourishing villages everywhere adjacent within a few miles on each side, and the valley is abundantly watered and richly cultivated.

Messengers arrived from Kaubool on the 28th. The news of the fate of Ghizni reached Dost Mahomed in about twenty-four hours, a distance of ninety miles; and he immediately dispatched his brother, the personal friend of Sir Alexander Burnes, and a man remarkable for a high tone of honourable character, philosophic simplicity, and love of the literature and religion of his people. He had al-

ways been the admirer of everything English, and the friend of every English gentleman. The old man rode the distance, almost without a halt, in forty-eight hours; and, arriving in our camp, was met by Sir Alexander Burnes at some distance from the lines, and conducted to head-quarters.

Sir Alexander Burnes had first visited Kaubool, on his way to Khorasaun, as an indigent traveller, using only his searching eyes and retentive memory; on his second visit he had appeared in a better position, as the representative of Government, and surrounded by the aids and instruments of diplomacy; and thus having travelled the length and breadth of the land, and resided in the heart of it, he had brought away that rich harvest of treasured observations which have made him the oracle to be consulted in every step of this campaign.

On these occasions the Nuwaub Jubul Khan, brother of Dost Mahomed, had patronized and assisted the indigent English traveller in the first visit; and in the second was delighted

to find him grateful for past favours; he knew how to appreciate the enlightened and cultivated mind of the British agent, and courted his society: they were attached friends, and their meeting was painful to both. The Asiatic prince maintained the sober dignity of his race, and betrayed only by a few involuntary tears the deep intensity of his feelings.

"The King," says Outram, "received him with much condescension:" truly it was very good in him to do so! The time is not arrived, nor am I in a position to discuss the wisdom of the policy that put him in the way of exhibiting such courtesy and humility: the day of reckoning is not come; but it will come, and bring a train of results at which the ear of him that heareth may tingle for the remainder of his life.

CHAPTER IV.

Order of march. — Altitude of our elevation. — Strong mountain defile.—Rumour of an attack.—Flight of Dost Mahomed.—Singular approach to Shekabad.—Cheap supply of fruit.—Accident from gunpowder.—Detachment sent to Kaubool.—Description of the intended field of battle.—The Hindoo Kosh.—Abundance of excellent fruit. — Cheapening a melon. — Laughable robbery.—General Hackwell.—Grateful conduct of the Shah.—His entry into Kaubool.—Disorderly Native salute.

On the 30th July the Commander-in-chief and Sir Alexander Burnes marched with the leading column; and the Shah with Mr. M'Naughton, escorted by General Willshire's division, the following day. We were then at the supposed highest point of the inhabited region of the district: water boiled at 196° of Fahrenheit, indicating by a rude guess something exceeding eight thousand feet elevation; the maximum of the thermometer was 83° in a

tent, minimum 42°. At about five miles beyond Ghizni was a strong mountain defile that in past ages had been fortified: there was a guard-house in ruins at each end, and round towers on every commanding eminence. If the pass cannot be turned, it would have been a strong position to have defended, and a sharp skirmish would be requisite to dislodge an enemy; who might inflict much injury without suffering any, provided he retired prudently, and neither too soon nor too late. We descended from the ridge into the plain of the Kaubool river, and halted at Shoojan: fine villages studded the valley, forage was abundant, and the villagers crowded our camp bazaar to sell their rude felt carpets and coarse products of home-spun industry. On the next morning's march we were gratified by the sight of fine bean-fields in flower: I had not looked on the blossomed bean-field since the summer of 1810, in "the fair and pleasant dale of Clyde," and twenty-nine years of absence seemed but a span in my memory, and a blank in my existence; and as I once more inhaled the fragrance, that

seemed loaded with a thousand sweetnesses of perfume, and a thousand recollections of unforgotten enjoyments, the springiness of youth seemed revived for a moment in those delicious associations.

We had warlike reports, and even a threatened attack, at this halt; a troop of our horse artillery was moved from our lines to the Shah's camp, and reconnoitring went on through the day. From an eminence near the camp the tents of the leading division were distinctly seen; and such was the clearness of atmosphere at this season, and at this elevation, that the actual distance, though exceeding eleven miles, was not considered to be six; this fancied short march made by the advance was supposed to be owing to the approach of the enemy, and we expected ere we slept to receive the order to close up and join head-quarters as before Ghizni.

On the following day, the 3rd, the advanced column halted for us to join head-quarters. Dost Mahomed had brought forth his guns, and arrayed such of his followers as remained

with him at Urgunda, some twenty-five miles in front, and the army was to reunite: but on our arrival at Shekabad the official notification reached us that all Dost Mahomed's followers had deserted him, and, his means of resistance being now bribed out of his hands, he had no option but flight; thereupon abandoning his guns, he had taken his way towards Bokhara, and left his capital to the Shah and the Envoy and Minister. A detachment of cavalry and horse artillery was instantly dispatched to Urgunda to secure the guns; and a party of Affghans, with "one hundred of our cavalry, regular and irregular," were sent off under Captain Outram to endeavour to intercept the retreat of the flying "ex-ruler." It was stated in camp, and I believe it to be true, that Mr. M'Naughton not only urged and entreated Sir John Keane to increase the handful of British troops allowed to Captain Outram, but condescended to solicit the assistance of Captain Craigie, Deputy Adjutant General, and his influence with the chief; but without success. The result was that the Aff-

ghans were traitors, and allowed the escape of Dost Mahomed, who would in all human probability have been captured, had Captain Outram possessed the means of assaulting him when overtaken. Captain Outram has published the history of his adventures on this chase, and from his simple narrative it is sufficiently clear that a sad sacrifice of the public interest was made. Those who write the military history of the campaign will probably explain under what impression this grievous error was committed.

The approach to Shekabad was very singular. The river, a bold deep stream, running clear as crystal over a pebbly channel betwixt gravelly banks, irrigates a small valley, which for three or four miles was green as an emerald with rice-fields: the river entered the valley through a fissure in the mountains, a ravine that seemed opened by nature to admit it; and went out by another, equally abrupt, on the opposite side. A rustic bridge of the rudest construction, on piles, admitted the infantry and cavalry to pass; the guns were dragged through

the river: its appearance was most picturesque. It was at this place that a trooper of the Bengal Cavalry lost his life, under circumstances which have been made the subject of correspondence in the Bengal papers. From what I heard, I thought that the Bengal officers were too much incensed at the occurrence to have let the matter drop so quietly as they appear to have done. The statements published in the Bengal papers were either true or false: if true, somebody deserved punishment; if false, the libel should have been proved and punished.

The next stage was to be a long one. We moved at three in the morning, and marched upwards of eighteen miles. A sudden turn in the road led us over the crest of a ridgy hill; and the descent thence was into a small valley surrounded by hills, with a wholesome, clear rivulet running across it: on the side of the stream were drawn up some fruit-sellers from Kaubool, with their asses laden with apples. For five pise, my horsekeeper's whole treasury,—that is, one-twelfth of a Bombay rupee, 1*s.* 10*d.*—I received twenty-five fine large, juicy, rosy-

cheeked, high-flavoured apples! and having invited the poor fellow who had lent his purse to share the gift of Providence, we breakfasted on as delicious a treat of fragrant fruit as I ever enjoyed in my life. My "small but faithful steed," whose size and fidelity probably exceeded the merit of Sir Robert Peel's Glasgow galloway that carried him through the Highlands, the Bolan Pass being worse than anything I ever saw even in that country,—my faithful steed ate apples too, and was satisfied that the fruit was good for food, and pleasant to the palate as well as to the eye. One Christian, one Hindoo, and one horse finished the twenty-five large apples in an inconceivably short space of time, and proceeded on their way rejoicing.

I had hardly reached the ground ere I received orders to send off a surgeon forthwith. Dost Mahomed's artillerymen, ere abandoning their guns, had opened out the tumbrels; and either wilfully and of malice aforethought had scattered the powder about, or wasted some in stealing the rest. The poor fellows sent to

take possession of the guns, not suspecting any intended or accidental danger, were carelessly working in the midst of it until it exploded, no one knew how: four or five men were very seriously burnt, but happily no life was lost.

Pears, peaches, and cherries were sold this day in the bazaar. All was now peace, the campaign was evidently closed, Dost Mahomed was beyond question fled, and all Kaubool was hastening out to submit to the new order of things, and to make the most that could be made of the restoration! The detachment that had been sent to secure the guns was ordered forward to Kaubool to occupy the citadel, and prevent any breach of the peace or collision between any rival factions in the city.

The following morning, the 5th of August, on our march we crossed the field which had been selected by Dost Mahomed to have given us battle, had not the British treasury bought off his venal, and the British bayonet frightened away his cautious and self-seeking, adherents. Man that is born of a woman loves a full purse

and length of days, and whoso can offer him such an inducement may venture boldly in reliance on his fidelity. The ground was not badly chosen for an Asiatic's notion of a fight: a narrow plain, not a mile and a half across, with hills of no great elevation, and by no means of difficult access for infantry on each flank; and a ravine, the bed of a watercourse, running diagonally across his front. Twenty-eight excellent brass guns, field-pieces, six-pounders, were drawn up in formidable array across the plain, and were intended to cover the front of the line.

Such a disposition would have been carried in less time than Ghizni: our light infantry would have been seen upon the hills; and our main column, protected by the ravine, would have glided, probably unperceived, into the very heart of the enemy's position.

It was a spot where a small well-disciplined corps might have beaten off a very vast superior force of irregulars; but the last place where superior numbers and Affghan horse should have dreamt of receiving the British column.

This day, from our encampment at Uzeez Umut, we first saw the Hindoo Kosh. The Greek Caucasus seems only the Persian Koi Kosh, — a simple and clear derivation, and showing that the Greeks did not invent and apply names, but preserved those of the countries they visited. The view of these hills, as white as burnished silver with their eternal snows, was sublimely magnificent to one who like myself had never seen the Alps or the Himalaya. I had imagined a duller colour, and had not conceived so stupendous an elevation; and yet a small grain of sand on a twenty-inch globe disturbs its surface with a greater inequality than these projected ribs of the solid globe affect the outer husk of this whirligig world of ours with its nine thousand and odd miles' diameter. "What is man that Thou shouldst magnify him, and that Thou shouldst set thine heart upon him: that Thou shouldst visit him every morning, and try him every moment!"

Our camp was deluged with fruit: our friend Sir Alexander Burnes sent two asses

laden with all the wild profusion of the thousand gardens of Kaubool to the staff mess tent, and a huge block of clear bright ice as hard as flint and brilliant as diamond; peaches ten inches in circumference and weighing nine ounces, apricots, plums, apples, pears, and cherries,—the latter Scotch geens, very black and very sour, and not at all to be applauded. Sultan Bauber says he introduced them at Kaubool; it was a mistake not to have selected a better variety.

But who can describe the vineyards and grapes of Kaubool, from the incomparably delicious, the small, stoneless, pale, salmon-coloured kismis, which is dried for the Sultana raisin, to the large, plump, fleshy, plum-like, dark-purple grape, the giant of its race, an inch and a half in length, and which is really too much for one mouthful! I had no conception of the fruit of such a size. The melons of Kaubool are not degenerate from the days of the Sultan Bauber: every variety and every size, of the most exquisite perfume and flavour, were sold at little more than a penny each for

the best and largest. "In the name of the prophet figs!" has become an English jest; but "in the name of the prophet melons!" is nothing *outré* in Kaubool. I saw some of our Mahomedan troops of the Bengal cavalry stopping at a fruit-shop; and, curious to ascertain the prices they would be required to pay as contrasted with our own payments, I listened to the bazaar discussion. "In the name of the holiest and most blessed Prophet!" said the melon-seller, "no fruiterer in Kaubool can sell you a better melon for less than three pise."—"You say so, do you?" said the trooper. —"I do!" replied the man of melons, stroking his beard, and turning up his eyes heavenward. —"You do?" said again the trooper, handling and feeling the fruit with a look so demure that I thought he was coming Sam Weller over his friend. —"I do!" was the reply.— "Now, do you mean to say," rejoined the trooper, "in the name of the holy and blessed Prophet, who ascended to the seventh heaven on the back of Borauk, that you, as one of the faithful, sell your melons at three pise each to

the exalted and immaculate believers of this great and glorious city of Kaubool?"—"I do!" said the rejoicer in the melon pattern, with another manipulation of his beard, and another meek glance upwards.—"May God give us no worse melons in heaven!" said the trooper, and paid his three pise; and shouldered a melon as big as his head with his shako on it!

On arriving at Oosa, our first encampment at Kaubool, we were greeted by Colonel Campbell, our Quarter-master General, in a most extraordinary garb,—a red nightcap, and his military cloak very tightly pulled about him, but still unable to conceal that he was for the time being a sans-culotte. He had ridden in advance over-night to choose the ground, and mark out the camp with some additional care. When half asleep, he was disturbed by some noise in his tent; and, turning round, had the gratification to see that he had just awoke in time to save his sword, which was hanging to the tent-pole, and that he was thus only relieved of the burthen of carrying his clothes! His nightcap was on his head,

and his military cloak was happily wrapt round him for a blanket; so that he had something of a costume in which to perform his morning duties: but let the reader imagine one of the best-looking and best-dressed staff-officers in the army disguised in such a plight! Luckily, he enjoyed the jest as much as his neighbours; and this fair warning of the kind intentions of our Kaubool friends was well bestowed, and Colonel Campbell's loss was more vexatious for the attendant circumstances than the amount of the damage.

I rode this morning in company with General Hackwell, the commandant of the cavalry; he left an arm at Waterloo, and looks the *vieux sabreur* the better for the lack of the limb. On our homage-paying affair at Kandahar, Shah Soojah had remarked upon it; and said, either by previous instruction, or of his own royal conception, that the empty sleeve was the decoration and the pledge of bravery!

I am not one of the admirers of Shah Soojah; so that in justice to this illustrious character, and to enrich my page with a name so dear

to every member of the Honourable Company's service under the Bombay Presidency as "the revered and honoured name" of Mountstuart Elphinstone, I will take this opportunity of reverting to that said "homage-payment," to mention, that Captain Keith Erskine being introduced as the nephew of Mr. Elphinstone, the King forgot the Asiatic etiquette of royal sobriety of demeanour, to launch forth in praise of the first Englishman he had ever met. His eyes brightened, and his countenance was lighted up, as he begged it to be intimated to Mr. Elphinstone, that if there were anything in his power by which he could show his personal regard, or any service he could render his nephew, it would gratify him exceedingly. Captain Erskine declined the honour of an appointment in the Shah's cavalry; but this proper and becoming speech, and which was more honourable to Shah Soojah than even to Mr. Elphinstone, should have been remembered by Sir John Keane and Mr. M'Naughton when they were conferring in the King's name what they have been pleased to designate "the

order of the Douranee empire." I was quite close to the King when he spoke to Captain Erskine on the homage-day, and again on the order of the Douranee empire institution day; and I have no hesitation in asserting my unqualified conviction, that, with the single exception of Sir Alexander Burnes, there was not a person in the army whom Shah Soojah would have been more delighted to gratify than the nephew of Mr. Elphinstone.

On the 7th August, the day after our arrival, the Shah was escorted by all the British authorities, and the chief portion of the officers not on duty, and a squadron of Lancers, to the ruinous palace of his father and grandfather. The procession had been intended to take place at sunrise; but some superstition respecting the auspicious hour induced the King to notify to Sir John Keane, when his Excellency and staff were all drawn up in full-dress order, that he should not be prepared to go until the afternoon.

At three P.M. the cortège was again assembled; and about four o'clock the Shah appeared

on horseback in his royal robes, attended by an ill-dressed rabble of followers, and the procession moved onward to the Balla Hissar, or citadel: a viler road of narrow winding lanes and dirty streets was never travelled. I was not present on the occasion of his Majesty's entering Kandahar, and cannot testify to the accuracy or the reverse of the statement that appeared of the enthusiasm with which his Majesty was received as the son of Timour Shah, and chief of the Baruckzyes! If the Kandaharies cast loaves of bread and flowers before his Majesty, I can honestly say that the Kauboolies did not fling him either a crust or a nosegay, nor shouted a single welcome that reached my hearing: a sullen surly submission to what could not be helped, and an eager determination to make the most that could be made of existing circumstances, and turn them to account, appeared to be the general feeling entertained, without much attempt at disguise, by the good citizens of Kaubool.

A tremendous discharge of camel artillery—jinjals fixed on swivels and mounted on

camels—saluted our entrance into the citadel; and as they were fired at random, in the very midst of the procession, the helter-skelter and confusion of the horses of the staff-officers and the native horsemen was anything but agreeable: most happily, no accident occurred, and we parted with the King at his palace-door; and, leaving him with Mr. M'Naughton, we retraced our steps to camp.

CHAPTER V.

Our communication with India restored.—Account of the Emperor Bauber—his Tomb.—Funeral of Col. Arnold.—Reminiscences of him — his light-heartedness — his burial-place.—Remnant of an Armenian colony.—The ten lost Tribes of Israel. — The Four Rivers of Paradise. — The Affghans probably of Jewish origin. — Recreations of the army. — Architecture of Kaubool mean — abundantly supplied with water — its Bazaars. — Ancient Greek relics at Bugrany. — Cashmere shawl-looms. — Hints to merchants on the gold-dust and opium trade. — Murder of Col. Herring.—Capture of the murderers.

We were aware that our halt at Kaubool was to exceed a month, if not more. We were in the most delightful climate that any of us had experienced in our lives, and the wild profusion of the bazaars left us nothing to wish for of country produce. Further, in a few days the communication was open by the Punjaub, and all the vexatious uncertainty of posts ceased: we received letters within a month; and,

after nine months of much that had been most disagreeable, we felt repaid for our labour, and enjoyed rest.

On the 8th August we moved ground, to a plain about six miles south and west of Kaubool; and, on the 12th, his Excellency the chief moved the head-quarter staff lines four miles nearer to Kaubool, pitching himself and the staff of the Bombay division in a ruined and long-neglected garden contiguous to the Sultan Bauber's tomb. Our tents occupied a fine avenue of tall poplars; not the spiral Lombardy poplars of the Italian landscape and a cockney-garden, but a fine, shady, spreading tree, much like a beech, with a smooth, clean rind, and most gracefully spread and pendulous branches. Here we remained until the 22nd, and these ten days were as the green spot in the desert of our lives during this toilsome campaign.

The Emperor Bauber, born in 1482 on the bank of the Caspian, died at Agra in 1530; having reigned thirty-seven years of the forty-eight of his active and merry life. His me-

moirs indicate a singular mixture of the love of philosophy and liquor, and some of the most pleasing traits of a gentle nature turned often awry, but not debased by the possession of despotic power. He ordered that his body should be brought for burial to Kaubool; and a very simple marble grave and headstone, an erect slab like the humblest in shape in a village churchyard, marks where it was laid. I copied the inscription; but it was destroyed, with many others of my memoranda, in the heavy rain my baggage was exposed to in my return through Sind betwixt Tatta and Kurachy. These accidents and adventures of travel are the every-day fate of travelling journalists, and happy is the man who has not his tablets full of them. It was very simple; and briefly, I think, recorded that he had conquered all he met from the Caspian to Bengal, and died, leaving the great Humaieen to inherit his conquests and surpass his virtues.

But man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upward. Our last day on this ground was saddened by the funeral of Brigadier Arnold,

of the 16th Lancers, who had commanded the Bengal brigade of cavalry.

Colonel Arnold was a very distinguished and popular officer of most prepossessing person and manners, and with all the light-hearted joyousness of youth still untouched by wear and tear, though verging on grey hairs, and developing that commencing rotundity of person which is wont to usher in the sober sadness of the down-hill of life. He was shot through the lungs at Waterloo,—a most unfortunate hit, as it happened: for, whenever it befell that his claret was better than usual, and his liver next day bore witness to the fact, it was of necessity that unlucky Waterloo bullet that was reproached for it; whereas water in no shape was to blame, and he would have fared no worse for Waterloo had he been a tee-totaller, and upheld the song of Pindar, "How great is the praise of water!"

On the 27th May I met Sir Alexander Burnes, with poor Arnold and a merry party, returned from a two days' pic-nic, a few miles out of Kandahar, on the banks of the Urgen-

daub. Burnes had just received, quite accidentally, a fair supply of good things from Bombay; and breakfast saw them produced. I have never seen a breakfast better conducted, nor more justice done to one! We had not, at this time, come to our subsequent Kaubool scarcity and famine prices, when wine sold for two hundred and twelve rupees per dozen, and six bottles of brandy for one hundred rupees, and a thousand cheroots for one thousand and forty rupees! We had still, through Kandahar, the decencies of the dinner-table, even for ordinary persons; but the pop of a champagne cork was a forgotten sound, and the flavour of burgundy remembered only in dreams, when the lips and palate of the dreamer would quiver, and, like these pages, be very dry! When Burnes, therefore, covered his table with all the delicacies of the season, and a score of good things we had not seen for months; when pop went a champagne cork, and bang went another of sparkling burgundy,—poor Arnold's spirits rose to the over-boiling point; and the justice he did to a Per-

sian pilau, and, devoid of partiality, to both liquors, was in proportion to his infectious vivacity, which without any figure of speech set the table in a roar.

I had daily duty on hand, and no leisure for pic-nics, nor did I dare to trust myself long in such company. The pic-nic party remained with Burnes in his "summer chamber," an underground room, where, to keep out the heat, they had a tiffin at two; but, it being the memorable Nuzzurana, or homage-payment day, we met again at sunset in the Shah's garden at the durbar. Poor Arnold! I never saw him afterwards, and shall not easily forget his last words to me, — some amusing reproaches for my having absconded that morning after breakfast. He ended the day as merrily as it began; and I was not startled to hear, a few days afterwards, that Arnold had taken another pic-nic party out to the Urgendaub, and had either burst a blood-vessel on his lungs, or otherwise very grievously injured himself internally, while swimming in the river,—the due changes being rung on the coldness of water,

and the exertion of struggling against the current, &c. It was still the water! In process of time, poor fellow! he died at Kaubool; and the doctor's *post mortem* report announced his lungs healthy and sound, but some fifty mortal murders and half a score of abscesses in his liver! a discovery that would not, I think, have been left for the *post mortem* examination to bring to light, but for that unhappy shot at Waterloo giving colour and ground for eternally considering the poor innocent lungs the peccant part.

No man was ever more deservedly popular in his regiment; he lived only for and with his comrades, as the liveliest of companions and the best dragoon officer in India. We buried him in the Armenian burial-ground; where some Greek crosses on ancient tombs, one of them surmounted, I believe, with a mitre, indicated that the Christian ritual was not new to Kaubool.

The Armenian community, now reduced to half-a-dozen families remarkable only for their Christian privilege of distilling and drinking,

are the relic of a once flourishing colony, brought hither, some centuries ago, to introduce their provincial modification of the arts and military science of Constantinople into the court and camp of Kaubool. They have a church and vestments; but their last priest had died, most probably of delirium tremens, as they offered ours, whom they asked to baptize their children, a huge noggin of Kaubool whiskey for his breakfast, and were surprised at his unclerical refusal to quaff it as a grace-cup after the christening.

Whoever sent the missionary Wolf through Mesopotamia and Persia to discover the traces of the lost ten tribes in Kaubool, had some show of ground to go on. The two tribes who inhabited this country, the Uzarias and the Affghans are so different,—the former with their Calmuc skins, flat round faces, peering eyes, broad eyelids, and depressed snub noses; the latter with the finest Caucasian form of brow and features, and pure complexion,—that, considering the proximity of the Tartar regions, the former may be regarded as abori-

gines; and the Affghans and Ghiljies, with a great probability of accuracy, as a colony from the West.

We have yet to learn where science and civilization commenced,—whether in Mesopotamia, or in India; but we have clear history that the Persian monarchy extended to the Indus. The Hebrew captives would be best disposed of when scattered to the extreme opposite frontier, and their place in Palestine supplied by similarly transported victims of despotism brought from some opposite country.

The prophet Daniel's vision "by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel," may have been on the bank of the Attock, since it is unquestionably the only great river which goeth towards the east of (or eastward to) Assyria; and, as Daniel was chief of a district, the probabilities are that it would be over his own people, and they on the extreme limit of the empire.

The four rivers of Paradise are not to be sought in summer brooks; or is the "garden *in* Eden," not *of* Eden, to be supposed a spot

of a few square acres, since man was meant to multiply and replenish. But this is not the place to discuss that question: though it may briefly be said, that the region within the spring-heads of the Oxus, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Euphrates, is the finest climate in the world for the cradle of the infant race; and that modern names, in the fidelity to antiquity of the Asiatic nomenclature, preserve the ancient sounds, and appear, at least to me, to indicate the same waters. But to return to the Affghans; their tall figures, dark black eyes, marked features and western complexion, indicate a race that may, without the least violation of probability, be referred to a Jewish original; excepting that, in such case, what becomes of the miracle that in all other countries appears in unceasing operation, and keeps the Beni Israel a distinct race, unmixed and unmixable with other people, and, generally speaking, a reproach and a by-word among all nations?

On the morning of the 22nd the army moved its camp from the western to the

Lt W Creed, Bombay Artill. del.

Dean & Munday Lithog. London

CITADEL of BALA HISAR & TOWN of KAUBOOL

London Published by R Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1840.

if manhood stood sentinel on the summit. There are two openings in this semicircular ridge of hills: one a cleft-like ravine, and through it the Kaubool river runs a very tortuous course into the city; the other is a steep mountain pass, of no great ascent on the one side, or descent on the other: the gorge of the hill has been fortified across, but is of no strength. No city could be more abundantly supplied with sweet clear water; all the handiwork and thought of the early ages of this nation appear to have been devoted to the benevolent and utilitarian purposes of economizing every drop of water, and leading their rivers from their upland well-heads through artificial channels into the lower regions, where they are bestowed upon the well-irrigated fields. Not a rivulet is wasted: from the subterranean Kareiz to the floods of the Urgendaub and Turnuck rivers, mighty and sounding streams in their season, all are under control by judiciously-placed dam-heads, and small canals that wind round the sides

of the mountains, apparently at times some hundred feet above the plains they fertilize.

The bazaars of Kaubool are four buildings, about a hundred yards in length, covered over like the nave of a Portuguese church, and about thirty feet high and under fifty broad: the sides are entirely occupied by shops, and the houses two stories high. They are kept swept and watered, and would have been a cool resort; but such a camp as ours in the vicinity crowded the city to an extent that made it difficult to force our way through the dense mass of the moving throng struggling forward and backward in this Regent's Street of Kaubool. But independent of those buildings, which seem chiefly dedicated to the Russian trade, and where we were shown the goods of Mooskoo and Roos, there were far more extensive covered streets canopied with matting, where the fruiterers exhibited such a display of the bounties of nature as I believe must be unequalled in any part of the globe. No fancy can imagine the piles of the most tempting varieties, beautiful to the eye and

fragrant to the smell; heaps of flowers, and huge blocks of ice to cool the draught, and give a zest to the most delicious fruits, which are here accessible to the poorest of God's creatures, being plentifully poured forth, from an overflowing horn, in the wildest profusion of the most wanton prodigality of nature.

Many thousand Greek relics have been dug up in the ruins of Bugrany, supposed by Burnes to be the Alexandria ad Caucasum, about twenty miles north and east of Kaubool: so singular an abundance indicates a long-continued Greek influence and dynasty; but we are yet ignorant of their history, and the fame of their heroes sleeps with that of "the brave who lived before Agamemnon." But where were the dominions of Antiochus the Greek, named in the Gurneer and Cuttack inscription? Were they Sind and Kutch, or this Bactrian colony?

We visited the Cashmerian looms, worked by fugitives from that valley of shawls; and saw their rude process of the most accomplished handicraft. A Paisley "wabster" would have

looked aghast if required to produce such work with such tools; the task of making bricks without straw would seem a jest to such an operation with such an apology for machinery. I am not possessed of the technicals, and cannot describe the process; but instead of one man, half sitting, half standing, driving the nimble shuttle to and fro through the web, six men were squatted on the ground twisting and twining different-coloured threads on a multiplicity of balls in and out, and creating a pattern of brilliant colours and complicated design, apparently by chance, for it seemed difficult to trace design in the confusion of the operation. The shawls exported from Kaubool to Russia are generally square handkerchiefs of a great thickness and weight, rough and heavy with their rich and ponderous embroideries: the best we saw were priced from a thousand to fifteen hundred rupees each. Legislators are beginning to discover, as something quite new, that trade, to be brisk and profitable, must reciprocate exchanges with rapid returns; and that no country can expect to receive bullion

only from another, except it be from a land of mines! Russia, by taking shawls from Kaubool, involves the necessity of Kaubool importing to the same value from Orenburgh in furs and woollens, &c.

We were up to the middle of September a camp of paupers,—no pay having been issued since June, and only an "indulgence" granted on the 13th of August, amounting to less than three per cent. of the three months' pay due to us: consequently our purchases were most moderate.

I closely examined one pair of shawls purchased for two thousand rupees. I have had great experience in the Cashmeres usually brought to Guzerat through Palli, and am familiar with the material and feel in the hand of those valuable cloths. These were harsh and hard, and the pattern so finished and accurately repeated throughout, that in India I should at once have rejected them as Paisley imitation; the perfection of handicraft had so closely approximated to the productions of machinery, that, whilst it had attained the evenness of sur-

88580

face and continuity of thread, it had lost the downy softness of the less finished Cashmere; and, with the closeness of texture of the engine-finished article, had acquired its hardness and rigidity in the hand.

To one so situated as myself, with no official helps to obtain information, and with abundant occupation from my own departmental duties, there would fall little opportunity to speak of the statistics or markets of Kaubool.

Only two points need be mentioned as worthy of special notice. The book of Genesis describes the river Pison as "it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good:" if we seek the Pison in the Oxus, that river and its tributary streams are not changed, and still yield gold-dust to such an extent that gold is cheaper here than in any other accessible part of the world that we know of; being sold, it is said, at only twelve times its weight of silver in Koolum and Koondooz, or about twenty per cent. below the market price in India and England. This

must eventually change, but in the mean while it is the advantage gained by the Russian traders.

The second I learnt professionally by endeavouring to purchase opium in the bazaar for the hospitals: I found that there was an opium trade in its infancy across the Chinese frontier of Tartary. Both are points that should be attended to, as likely to lead to important results. Tea from China, and white loaf-sugar from Russia, are plentiful in the Kaubool market: the gold of the Oxus procures the one; and opium from Turkey, brought through Russia, is exchanged for the other.

On the 5th September we learnt that Colonel Herring, C. B. in command of a Bengal regiment on its march to Kaubool, had been assailed and murdered by thieves while taking an evening walk at a halt about fifty miles distant on the road from Ghizni. He was a distinguished officer, and had just been selected for the high honour of commanding the Shah's regulars, but perished in this shocking manner

ere he received intelligence of the appointment. His body was brought to Kaubool, and buried by the side of poor Arnold's: the murderers were subsequently captured by Captain Outram, and sent prisoners to Ghizni.

CHAPTER VI.

Apology for a digression. — Meeting with an old acquaintance. — Great abilities of Mr. Lord. — His Report on Koondooz. — Order for our march. — Wish to remain in Affghanistan. — Frequency of murders. — Institution of "the Order of the Douranee Empire." — Description of the decoration of the Order. — Complaints of disappointed persons. — Dr. Harland the American. — His figure and eccentric dress. — His defection from the service of Dost Mahomed. — Through his courage and conduct the Affghans defeated the Seiks, in 1837. — His title to consideration at the hands of the British Government.

A tangled tissue of many-coloured threads is this narrative! I was told at Kaubool that Mr. A B C had written one book in the style of Polybius, and was employed on a history of the campaign in the style of Thucydides; and I was asked what vein I ambitioned, for from the landing at the Hujamry I have been

a marked man as one "taking notes." I replied that I should be but too happy if I could hit off a book that should be equally amusing, and as frequently quoted, as the immortal work of Mr. Joseph Miller! I was glad to find from a book of epitaphs, which I purchased at an auction at the Cape of Good Hope, that this worthy was really a man of flesh and blood in his day, and not a man of straw, as I had till then held him to be. Therefore, as he is an "English classic, good in law," and has established his style, I trust that the gentle reader will allow me to digress hither and thither, after his fashion, and be anecdotic or gossiping as the humour leads: I need not assure him that — Heaven mend my faults! — I am neither Polybius nor Thucydides.

On the 26th August I spent the day with Burnes, to meet my old friend Percival Lord, who had arrived that morning from the Khyber Pass, where Colonel Wade had been covering himself with glory in forcing that wilderness of defiles, described as more horribly inaccessible, by far, than the Bolan, and in bringing

up the Shah's son and part of his contingent from Peshawer.

Our long delay at Kandahar, and the death of Runjit Sing, had involved Colonel Wade in a most distressing dilemma of a thousand difficulties, from which it had required all his tact and patience and management to extricate himself with safety. Fortune finally favoured him, and he arrived, after a course of courageous opposition and brilliant success, at Kaubool.

My acquaintance with Lord, as well as with Burnes, had begun under different circumstances of comparative position; but we were warm friends, and had always maintained a correspondence which had afforded me an abundant delight. Outram joined us at dinner, and none of us are likely to forget that evening; it was passing strange that we four should meet in Kaubool.

Lord Auckland has had the good fortune to meet such men as Burnes, Lord, and Outram; and has the good sense to appreciate their merits. Time and the hour will do Burnes justice. Lord is on the direct road to distinction, whither the highest order of intellect and

the most accomplished mind must lead him onward, and establish for him a distinguished reputation. Outram has proved that mind and energy are not to be trampled under foot: his course seems now to be smooth before him, if his health should be spared in the deadly region of the valley of the Indus, and at the capital of Sind, to which he is appointed Resident.

Outram left Kaubool on the 7th of September, on a special duty, with a force of the Affghan troops and a detachment from the Bengal division under his orders: he has published his narrative, and I shall leave him until he rejoined the camp of the Bombay division on the 9th of October on our march to Quetta.

Lord was selected for the important duties of an embassy to Koondooz and Bokhari to secure our political influence, and to avert any evil that might be threatened from that direction through the intrigues of Dost Mahomed's emissaries, and to meet the contingencies of the last struggles of his despair. A more highly qualified agent was never employed, either as respects general talent, or local knowledge, and

peculiar fitness for the peculiar work; and that, too, one of the most delicate and difficult errands on which he could employ his talent: cool and far-sighted, with judgment to decide, yet energy to act when occasion called for it.

The winter snows fell earlier than usual, and he was unable to proceed beyond Baumeean, where I must leave him. His commentaries will some future day come forth to delight and enlighten the world; and in the mean while his report on Koondooz, compiled when he was a subordinate assistant to Burnes, will furnish the only philosophical and readable fragment that has yet been given to the public respecting that country and its vicinity.

It had been announced on the 23rd of August that a portion of the Bengal army would remain in Kaubool under the command of Brigadier Sale, and that the Bombay column would soon commence its march homewards; but the move was delayed, and we were becoming painfully nervous as to what we were likely to suffer should the snows fall on the Toba mountain. No one could conjecture the

reason for the delay; though the general belief was, that the goldsmiths of Kaubool, who were preparing the decoration of "the order of the Douranee empire" for the Chief, were the real cause of our detention.

Finally, on the 12th of September the order for our departure on the 16th was announced, and great was our satisfaction thereat. On the 9th of September we had a keen bleak wind, and a little rain in the evening; and the following morning the hills which surround the valley of Kaubool at about five miles' distance, and one thousand five hundred feet elevation, were white with snow: we knew that we had higher and worse ranges to climb and cross, and that our camels and Indian servants were likely to suffer cruelly. Many a bitter curse did we give to "the order of the Douranee empire."

On the morning of the 16th we moved from the eastern to the western face of the city, as breaking ground for our homeward march. As I passed through Kaubool, I breakfasted with Burnes to say farewell. If I could have stayed on duty without pecuniary loss, I would gladly

have cast my lot for the remainder of my time in the lap of Affghanistan; but such could not be, and I said adieu to my valued friend with every feeling of the most warm regard. On reaching our camp, I saw the soldiers of her Majesty's 17th regiment digging a grave for one of their comrades whom they had found murdered on the road: the frequency of the occurrence was very distressing.

On the 17th we halted for the august ceremony of the institution of "the order of the Douranee empire." It was at first intended to have been the Douree Douranee, and the knights were to have written themselves D.D.; but some wicked wag announced it to mean the dog and duck! which was so ludicrously appropriate that the petty districts of Shah Soojah were declared an empire, and, instead of the dog and duck, it became the order of the Douranee empire.

On the afternoon of the 17th we had a hot ride of five miles to the citadel, where we met nearly all the officers of the army; and, after waiting upwards of an hour on horseback, we were informed that Mr. M'Naughten and his

Majesty were ready. This, it has been said, was the only occasion upon which Sir W. Cotton was ever seen without a star; and he explained it, by saying that it was court etiquette to appear unadorned with any earlier bestowed decoration when about to receive a new order from the hands of royalty! Sir Willoughby being a good authority on these points, so valuable a piece of information deserves to be recorded; especially as Sir John Keane did not appear to be up to it, and was as well starred on this as on other occasions.

On the announcement that the ceremonial was to begin, I expected the thunder of artillery, the clamour of trumpets, and the sweet sound of some regimental band to commence the play, and all the pomp, pride, and circumstance of the chivalry of glorious war that Sir John Keane could have brought out for the occasion. But so far from it, even the "princes, and potentates, and peers" of the Affghan nation were, thank Heaven! all absent to a man; and the matter passed off with less real ceremony, and took less time, than I was prepared to imagine.

In a court-yard of about a hundred yards square, a ruinous and neglected garden, and surrounded by ruinous buildings of the old palace, in which a dozen or two of bricklayers and plasterers were at work repairing the dilapidation and neglect of the past thirty years, and who never stopped their work to look at us, sat the old King alone in his glory; his throne being one of our old camp-chairs, value, when new, some four or five rupees at the utmost; behind it stood two old fat eunuchs, each holding a dish in his hand: and up to this extraordinary dumb show we marched, and were all ranged behind and on the right of the camp-chair with the King in it.

When all was ready,—and it took less time than I could have supposed,—Sir John Keane stepped before the said camp-chair with the King in it, and gravely dropped on his knees before the Douranee Emperor. One of the fat eunuchs waddled to the front, and uncovered his dish, in which was the decoration and ribbon of "the order of the Douranee empire." The Emperor with great difficulty stuck

it on; and, Sir John's coat being rather too tight, it cost him some effort to wriggle into the ribbon: but the acorn in time becomes an oak, and Sir John was at last adorned, cap-a-pie, a Knight Grand Cross of the Douranee empire!

The decoration required eloquence; and Sir John, standing before the Emperor, delivered himself of a speech, in which there was a great deal about "hurling a usurper from the throne," — at which my uncle Toby might perhaps have whistled his lillibullero.

But as the Emperor of the Douranee empire did not understand English, the Chief's Persian interpreter, Major Powell, stepped to the front to interpret. Poor man! he was "not accustomed to speak in public," and made but a bad job of it; and the Emperor, who seemed to wish the whole affair over, broke into the midst of the interpretation with his own observations complimentary to the British General, the British army, and the British Government. Burnes, for some reason best known to himself, wished the whole interpretation to

be fairly and fully driven into and through the imperial ears, and whispered "Deegurust," "There is more of it;" which silenced the Emperor, and Major Powell went on: but, making a pause to take breath, his Imperial Majesty began again, and was again silenced: a third pause, and again his Imperial Majesty commenced; and by that time Burnes seemed tired too, and the Emperor had it all his own way, and all the talk to himself for the rest of the ceremonial. Mr. M'Naughten and Sir W. Cotton were next invested; and Sir A. Burnes and Sir Martin Wade were told that they were created Knights Grand Crosses too, but that the goldsmith had not been able to make the decorations in time for them, but they might rely on receiving them in as short a time as he could compass it. Lord Auckland was declared a Knight Grand Cross also; how Colonel Pottinger escaped, can be only explained by the wonderful good fortune that has attended that gentleman through life.

The Grand Crosses being created, the Knights Commanders and Companions were

to be invested, but the decorations had not been made; and it was clear that if there was to be a kneeling and a tow-tow for each, there would be no end of it: so an officer in a Bengal Cavalry uniform, holding a paper in his hand, shouted out the names of the "men whom the King delighted to honour;" and we, the *oi polloi*, being all drawn up on the right of the King, the parties so named stepped forth in succession, and, crossing in front, bowed to the King, and ranged upon the left. The officer, who thus enacted the Grand Mareschal of the palace, read with a clear good voice, and deserved to have been a Grand Cross himself, if his taste lay that way, for the fine feeling he showed when, in reading the original list, he paused on the names of Brigadier Arnold and Colonel Herring, and, reading them with a subdued tone, added "deceased," and passed on to the next in order. This honourable tribute to the dead was the only incident in the whole affair that seemed worth recording for anything but its extreme absurdity.

The decoration of the order is a Maltese

cross, a bad imitation of the Guelphic order of Hanover; and it was the more absurd to give a Christian's most sacred religious badge as an honour supposed to be conferred by the most bigoted petty Mahomedan Government in the world; because the arabesque star of six points, which forms the ornament of the historic gates of the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni, would have been so peculiar and appropriate an emblem of a Douranee institution. The ribbon, "party per pale vert and gules," is in good taste; and, when manufactured in England, will no doubt be very ornamental.

When the list was read out, and all was over, there rose the cry of the disappointed; and I saw Sir John Keane much excited, and apparently in a bewilderment and amaze at the storm that threatened. The rule for the selection had been that the brigadiers and heads of departments were to be Knights Commanders; and all field-officers, and sundry head-quarter favourites, Companions. The claimants who now started forth were the field-officers by brevet: there were only four or five; and

these of course, from the simple fact of their brevet, were the oldest officers of their class, and much senior to many who were preferred before them. One of them had served nearly forty years in India, and was old enough to have been the father of half the new-made knights: he is said to be writing a history of the campaign, and will no doubt make known his grievance. No satisfactory reason was assigned for their being omitted; had they been too numerous, it would have been otherwise, but they were not so.

There was at this time in Kaubool a certain "free and enlightened citizen of the greatest and most glorious country in the world," an American Doctor Harland, who, through various vicissitudes of fortune, had left a ship that had carried a cargo of notions, to what in Indian phraseology is called the eastward, that is, the Malacca Straits and China Seas; and had joined, in some subordinate capacity, the British army in the Burmese war. I cannot trace him thence through the native services to Lucknow, and the Punjaub, and Kau-

bool, where he was a brigadier, I believe, in Dost Mahomed's army, and which he quitted to join us. I met him one morning at Sir Alexander Burnes's, and was astonished to find a wonderful degree of local knowledge and great shrewdness in a tall, manly figure, with a large head and gaunt face over it, dressed in a light, shining, pea-green satin jacket, morone-coloured silk small-clothes, buff boots, a silver-lace girdle fastened with a large, square buckle bigger than a soldier's breast-plate, and on his head a white cat-skin foraging-cap with a glittering gold band and tassels; precisely the figure that, in my boyhood, would have been the pride and glory of a Tyrolese Pandean-pipes band at Vauxhall.

This gentleman was no fool, though he dressed like a mountebank; and it will not be creditable to our Government if he be not provided for: there was no law that could have made it penal for him to have served Dost Mahomed against us, and the President and Congress would have required an answer at our hands, had we made it so. Consequently, as Doctor

Harland left the "ex-ruler" to join our advance when his presence in Ghizni or in the Bolan Pass might have produced a different issue, he has a claim on our justice; for it was through his courage and conduct alone that the Affghans in 1837 defeated the Seiks in the Khyber Pass, and he was considered a fortunate leader of the Affghan soldiery. I was glad this gentleman was not in the court-yard when our people did homage to the Emperor; I can imagine an American's amazement to see a British officer on his knees before a "nigger!"

CHAPTER VII.

Homeward march.—Arrival at Ghizni.—Vanity of human grandeur.—Setting-in of winter.—Summerset of our Chaplain into the Ghizni river.—Remains of two men missed at the time of our advance.—The Aubistad Lake.—Attempts to steal our camels.—Punishment of the culprits.—Intensity of mental as compared with bodily agony.—Severity of the weather.—Mortality among the camels.—Death of Major Keith.—Foraging parties fired on.—Receipt of letters and supplies.—Losses of individuals in camels, etc.—Temperature on the mountains.

It was a strange feeling, in retracing our steps, to compare the numerous recollections of our journey in the advance, with its doubts, its uncertainties, and the thousand wild rumours that were every day afloat, in contrast to the solution of all difficulties, and the termination of all dangers, on the homeward march of the army.

September 26th saw us again at Ghizni. My last visit at Kaubool had been to the hum-

ble grave of the Sultaun Bauber; my last at Ghizni was to the tomb of Mahomed of Ghizni. Such pilgrimages are not mere idle curiosity; they enrich the mind with much right thinking, which it is good should be thought, and leaves good behind it if remembered. The changing cloud, the floating shadow, the bubble on the water, seem but natural and impressive emblems of man's never continuing in one stay; but the silent grave of the mighty dead reads a deeper lesson still,—the nothingness of power, and the follies of ambition. "Vanity of vanities," saith the preacher, "all is vanity!" repeated I to myself as I wondered what had become of the Sultaun's chief of the medical department.

On the 29th September we left Ghizni, and commenced our toilsome and hazardous journey across the Toba mountains to Quetta. The circuitous route by Kandahar had been travelled over on our advance, and the road had been improved and made practicable for artillery; but all the forage had been totally consumed, and we had heard of comparatively small par-

ties suffering exceedingly on that road since we had travelled it: consequently it was not altogether the abomination, eschewed by all thinking travellers, of taking "the short cut," that led us due south from Ghizni over a country where wheels can never have rolled before since the creation, and where in all human probability they are not likely to roll again, until another British army is required to maintain the friendly power we have placed on our western frontier.

The cold at eight thousand feet elevation, in 34° north, had commenced in earnest on the 29th September; the pools by the roadside were frozen over as we marched out of Ghizni. The thermometer, the preceding day, in my tent, had been maximum 72°, minimum 38°, after a high wind on the day preceding; the winter had evidently commenced, snow might be looked for, and we had no time to lose.

On marching out of Ghizni, our worthy chaplain had a perfect trial of the effect of a plunge into the Ghizni river when below freezing-point

for the standing pools in its vicinity. A rustic foot-path bridge was completed in its centre with a mill-stone, safe enough for a pedestrian to pick his way over, but requiring a very discreet and sure-footed beast in an iron-shod horse to avoid either the slippery slope of the mill-stone, on the one hand, or the hole in its centre: few men would have relished the experiment, and it would have been more comfortable for our friend had he not attempted to "witch" the little world of the advance "with his noble horsemanship." A more direful summerset was never exhibited: the unhappy man plunged headlong into the freezing stream; and partly through the force of the current, or to extricate himself from his floundering horse, rolled over and over with no daintiness of picking his footsteps, till he emerged from his cold-bath, a shivering biped, without a dry thread on him. He was, too, fortunate that we had not advanced beyond Ghizni. He betook himself for shelter to Charles Burnes, a younger brother of Sir Alexander, the best-natured and most obliging creature in the

world, who put him to bed till we could send dry clothes for the re-establishment of his outward man. This done, he rejoined us in the afternoon; having suffered no real injury in acquiring the lesson from experience, that a mill-stone bridge is but perilous footing. The Mahomedans' bridge to Paradise should be to ride our chaplain's charger over a mill-stone!

This event excited a sensation along the whole line. Brigadier Scott, at the head of the cavalry, was informed by a native, as of some disastrous adventure, that the Moollah had been catastrophized in the river; and apprehended that something had befallen him in the shape of a watery adventure, which none but a rising character, whom destiny was ripening for some marked elevation, could possibly have escaped.

It was on a Sunday morning. "Your Moollah did not, I fear, say his prayers before starting this morning," (said Nowroz, the chief of the guides,) "and this must be his punishment for forgetting your sabbath." Of this *laches*

we all acquitted our worthy Moollah; the error he had committed was the ill-judged attempt to ride on a mill-stone.

On the second march, having made two short stages, we halted a little beyond Nany, at the ground we occupied on the night of the 20th July, before our march to Ghizni. Two European soldiers, of her Majesty's 2nd Royals, had been missing that evening, and no trace had been found of them: on arriving here, two skeletons were accidentally stumbled on, to which were still clinging tattered relics distinctly indicating that they were the bones of our men; the marks of violence were too evident. A strange occurrence had taken place: a wild pigeon had built her nest and laid her eggs in the cavity of one of these skeletons; a singular selection for the poor bird to have made, when "the world was all before her where to choose." The relics were carefully collected together; and, being ascertained to be correctly recognised, were decently interred.

Captain Outram has published an outline

of his energetic proceedings in the Ghiljy country. The original chiefs, whom the Shah had found in power, had been slow in acknowledging his authority; and, as his Majesty of the Douranee empire passed through Khelaut-i-Ghiljy, they had been formally deposed, and more obsequious gentry of their blood anointed to reign in their stead.

But we had not only the Shah's offended dignity to assert, but some wrongs of our own to redress. A body of the Bengal followers, amounting, it was said, to nearly five hundred, had left the army at Kandahar, to make their way to Loodiana by Dera Ishmael Khan, and through the Punjaub. Before they had travelled one hundred miles, some disaster befel them at a place called Maroof, which the fugitives who returned described in very piteous terms as the most treacherous and cruel assault and massacre; stating that fully three or four hundred of our people had been destroyed: this was to be inquired into, and the parties to whom the murders could be brought home were to be severely punished.

Outram did all he could to ascertain the facts of the case, and the people concerned; but learnt no more than that the most grossly exaggerated reports had been, as before, received and believed. The fort of Maroof, being abandoned by its inhabitants on the approach of the detachment, was occupied without resistance, blown up, and destroyed. During this period of most fatiguing march, and at a time when every day that was lost increased our danger, we had bitter cause to regret our delay at Kaubool, and the operations against the Ghiljies which the Bombay column was distressed with on its march; having severe detachment duties, and halts in the most savage country in the world.

On the 7th October, at Muzkur Kareig, we saw the celebrated Aubistad Lake. Outram says he "estimated the diameter to be about twelve miles;" we marched fully fifteen miles in length in sight of it, and never saw across it. It looked like an inland sea, and one felt surprised not to see the white sails of commerce or pleasure on its waters: it is fed by the Ghizni river.

On the 8th we crossed a plain fully five miles in breadth, seamed through, everywhere, with deep-furrowed channels and pebbly beds, indicating the outlet of the overflowing of the lake in rainy seasons.

At our halt on the 7th, some light-fingered Ghiljies, attempting to carry off our camels, were seen and pursued by a few troopers of the baggage guard; and, being overtaken by only two or three of our people, attempted resistance, which ended in one of them being severely wounded, and a total of ten, including the wounded man, taken prisoners.

The bazaar was that day pitched near the staff-lines; and the sentence of the law being about to be carried into effect on these marauders, viz. to have their heads and beards shaved, and to receive a hundred lashes, the cloth that bound up the head of the wounded man was removed to shave him, when, to the surprise of the barber, and the Parsee official of the bazaar, a dignitary who moved in state with the staff, and who rejoiced in the *sobriquet* of "Botheration," the culprit's ear and

the fleshy side of his face fell down on his shoulder. I was walking within twenty yards' distance, and was appealed to by Mr. Botheration for assistance; an explanation which I think it necessary to afford, lest the gentle reader, who cannot abhor whippings more than I do, should suppose my taste would draw me *en amateur* to witness flagellations.

The first man that was to be flogged was a tall powerful fellow, who had no doubt stolen and eaten some hundred head of other people's cattle, judging by his bull neck and sleek skin: the rogue had lined his ribs well, and thriven on his profession. We were quite new to their part of the country, and these people quite new to us: their sentence had not been very correctly explained to them, or the first that was to suffer did not believe what was told him.

When tied up according to military etiquette for punishment, his agony of fear exceeded all description. He roared out his prayers to all the patriarchs and all the prophets, and rang the changes on Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Ishmael, and Moses, and Elias, and the Ma-

homedan prophets and saints, with a frightful rapidity of utterance, and a horror-stricken paleness of countenance, and protruded parched tongue that was ghastly beyond all I ever witnessed. When tied up he looked round for the executioner and the sword, which he firmly believed was to sever his head from his body; but when the drummers commenced applying the lash, and he was distinctly assured that a few square inches of skin was all that he had to lose, the change in the animal's countenance and demeanour was antipodical! It was clear that he could stand "a hundred lashes administered in the usual way, on the bare back," without the aid of Moses and the prophets! He grinned grimly enough, but his terrors were at an end; and there was a relighting up of his glazed eye, and a colour returned to his ashy cheek and lips, that made him appear another man. I never saw the fear of death so painfully displayed, and bodily pain so clearly proved to be a minor suffering compared to mental agony.

The wounded man was removed to our near-

est hospital, and had his wound sewed up and dressed, and was left in the village next morning on our march: he seemed made of sterner metal, and bore his cruel hurt without a murmur. The doctor I sent for to dress him was a phrenologist: "Sir," said he, "the sabre has shaved his skull and cut off his bump of combativeness," &c. A happy hit certainly, and a great improvement would it have been on the country generally if we could have cut off all their bumps of thievishness and combativeness!

It was at this place we saw the root growing which is dried for exportation and sold under the name of salop misrig. It is of the size of a small white turnip, and when dried resembles a small light-coloured prune: it boils down to a finer jelly than arrow-root, and is a very valuable light diet for invalids.

On the 18th we had reached the summit of the Toba mountain. The thermometer in my tent was found at 19° at daybreak, hard frost every night, and the cold very painful to bear. Our poor Indian servants and followers suffered

dreadfully from chapt hands and feet, and were, as nearly as possible, disabled: the mortality among our camels was very great, upwards of one thousand five hundred of the public cattle died. When in Kaubool, an attempt had been made to ascertain the number of camels that perished, and the replies to official queries had shown that upwards of sixteen thousand had then died. One caravan alone, which had started from Sukkur on May 16th with four thousand seven hundred camels, had reached Daudur with only one thousand and seventy; exemplifying the danger of setting the season at defiance, and contending against the opposition of nature. Of thirteen Europeans with that caravan seven died; the pecuniary loss to Government was estimated at seven lahks of rupees, a small item no doubt in the campaign, but how much good might have been done in India with the money!

But on the 18th October in the Toba mountains, we were suffering from the intensity of arctic cold, and not from the sun of the torrid zone; and through this inclemency

we lost the only member of the staff-mess who died during the campaign.

Major Keith, Deputy Adjutant-general of the Bombay army, and chief of the staff of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus, had served in India since 1805, and been present with the field divisions of the Bombay army in Arabia, at Beni bo Alli, and through the Dekkan war. He had suffered severely in his health in Sind, and again at Kandahar; but, during our halt at Kaubool, appeared to have perfectly recovered. He was only ill a week, with what was at first considered cold and sore throat; but the exposure to which we were subjected, and to which he exposed himself very incautiously in the performance of his duty, was too great: malignant symptoms appeared on the morning of the 18th, and, within twenty-four hours of the least apprehension being entertained, he was a corpse.

This was very hard, and severely felt by us all. The body was carried to our next encamping ground, Sir-i-Soork-aub, (the head of the red river,) and there we buried him in a

grove of tamarisk, with the deepest regret for our lost friend, and the tenderest sympathy with his bereaved family.

A more rugged or a more desolate region can hardly be imagined than the district through which we toiled our painful way betwixt the 12th and 26th October: range after range of the rudest mountains were to be ascended and descended; and the only road was the pebbly or rocky bed of some mountain torrent traced up to its source, and a similar descent on the opposite side. The Engineer corps was every day in advance to render all the assistance in its power; and it was rightly observed by Major Peat, the chief of that department, that it only required the difficulties to be the fraction of a fraction worse, for the country to be impassable.

The 1st regiment of Bombay Cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, whose promotion to lieutenant-colonel had removed him from being the indefatigable commandant of the Poona Horse to be the now equally indefatigable commandant of the 1st Cavalry, had

left us on the 17th, to try another route, in the hopes of foraging better by dividing into small detachments. We heard of them at Tugruk, on the 22nd. They had fared no better than we had, and were pushing on by a parallel road to ours, to reach the Valley of Peisheen.

On the 25th, at Toba, the principal place in the district, a pitiful hamlet of not a hundred houses, the foraging parties of our advance were fired on; and some preliminaries of reconnoitring the fort, the usual residence of the traitor Hadji Khan Kaukur, and preparations for a regular attack, delayed the line under arms for two hours: but, before any movement was made, the fort was abandoned by its garrison of four or five fighting-men, who took to the hills when they found that their show of resistance did not deter our reconnoitring parties from closely examining the fort.

On this march we saw some fine old trees of the yew kind, covered with small purple berries; the leaf and berry had a strong taste of juniper, but I was overruled when I felt

disposed to pronounce them to be such. Their trunks were venerable knotted timber, and the spread of the branches broad and leafy. In the clefts of the hills, along the watercourses, we saw abundant thickets of wild rose-trees covered with red hips. Southern-wood and hedgehog-plant covered the hills wherever there was a stratum of soil to nourish the plant.

On the 29th, at Hyduzye, we had the great satisfaction of finding ourselves on known ground: supplies of all sorts had been sent out hither to meet us by Captain Bean, the political agent at Quetta, and we felt our severe labours ended.

Forty-five post-office packages were received, and brought up the arrears of our correspondence; and many, who had not tasted wine for months, were now re-supplied.

On the 31st of October we reached Quetta, and were rejoined by Captain Pontardent's company of foot artillery. Our sick report of Saturday, November 3rd, after all these exposures and privations, was one hundred

and twenty-one Europeans, out of a strength of one thousand six hundred and forty-two; and ninety natives, on a total of one thousand three hundred and forty-seven fighting-men.

The loss of camels and baggage-ponies, destroyed by cold, excessive work, and starvation, fell heavily on all whose incomes were not very easy. My own share, when I wound up my account at Sukkur for the whole campaign, was eighteen camels and seven ponies dead or carried off by the enemy; and the total pecuniary loss thereby, and value of property that fell into the hands of the enemy through contingency of fight and no fault of mine, exceeded three thousand rupees.

The grant of six months' batta, bestowed by Lord Auckland's government, will reimburse field-officers the whole, or at least a very large portion of the average wear and tear and increased expenditures of field-service under such circumstances: but I doubt if any subaltern officer has gone through the service without incurring much greater expense, and suffering greater losses, than will be repaid by a lieu-

tenant's six months' batta, or seven hundred and twenty rupees; and for that class at least another gratuity should be bestowed, if not to the whole army.

It is difficult to understand, without having experienced it, the effect of a great elevation on the temperature, even in low latitudes. The Neilgherry hills, in 11° north, enjoy the climate of Devonshire at seven thousand five hundred feet; at nine thousand feet, water boiling at 195°: we had the thermometer fourteen degrees below freezing-point on the 19th October. My friend, Dr. Grant, in a letter dated March 21st, at Baumeean, in 34° north, less than one hundred and fifty miles west of Kaubool, and at about twelve thousand feet elevation, reports mean maximum of thermometer 29°, and mean minimum 12° for last January; mean maximum for February, 29°, mean minimum, 14°; and the country deeply covered with snow at the date of the letter, sufficient to indicate what military operations would be in such a climate, and in the more elevated regions of the passes of the Hindoo Kosh.

CHAPTER VIII.

Measures taken against Miraub Khan.—Received opinion in the camp with respect to these proceedings.—Letter of Miraub Khan to General Willshire.—Detachment to Khelaut.—Return by the Bolan Pass.—Disgusting spectacle.—Duty of extending civilization.—Increase of forage on our return.—Captain Hogg's narrow escape from being shot through mistake.—Our want of intelligence.—Fall of Khelaut.—Impolicy of distrusting the native soldiery.—Remarkable instance of Sir David Ochterlony's sagacity.—Practicability of the Gundava Pass.

It has been already stated that Miraub Khan, the Chief of Khelaut, had followed the most unblushing course of treacherous hostility, scarcely veiled by any, even the most flimsy, disguise or attempt at concealment; and yet had scarcely allowed a day to pass without the most abject protestations of slavish submission to Shah Soojah, and the most ardent anxiety to be considered the devoted ally of the British Government.

The contrast of his conduct and correspondence surpassed, in absurdity of uncared-for contradiction to each other, the worst proceedings hitherto experienced even from an Asiatic.

General Willshire had received orders, ere leaving Kaubool, to co-operate with Captain Bean in the final measures now resolved upon to depose Miraub Khan, and to appoint his cousin Chief of Khelaut; and on our arrival at Quetta these measures were at once commenced, and two days' halt sufficed. On the afternoon of the 3rd November, a brigade, consisting of her Majesty's 2nd and 17th regiments and the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, marched towards Khelaut under command of Brigadier Baumgardt.

We were doomed to experience a repetition of the same apparent misconceptions of the real force and intention of the enemy which had misled our leaders at Ghizni, and probably from the same cause,—the encouragement given to the enemy by our own dilatory, and to them inexplicable proceedings.

Had General Nott, who commanded the force which had been stationed at Quetta to keep Miraub Khan in check, been allowed to reduce him by a movement on Khelaut in August, as soon as the fall of Ghizni was heard of, it may be presumed that the achievement would have cost few lives. Miraub Khan was at that time compromised beyond the possibility of reconciliation, and did not commit further hostilities after that date; nor was there, to my knowledge, a single reason for the delay, unless we are to suppose that General Willshire was considered a fitter person than General Nott for the duty to be discharged.

And yet this duty was considered by Captain Bean, the political authority, so trifling, and must have been reported so by him to Lord Auckland and Sir John Keane, that it was generally asserted and believed in camp, that in the apprehension that General Willshire could not arrive before the fall of snow occurring to put a stop to proceedings, he (Captain Bean) had requested General Nott to undertake Khelaut with only one of the

two Bengal Native regiments he had at Quetta, and the Bombay company of artillery; and that the General had at one time resolved to do so, but was subsequently deterred by a point of etiquette, in receiving a copy of the instructions which had been given to General Willshire. These are points in which the received opinion in camp at the time was somewhat different from the subsequent official history of the proceedings; by which I do not mean to impugn such official history, but merely to state what was mentioned and noted.

On General Willshire's arrival at Quetta, he received a letter from Miraub Khan, expressed in the same unblushing style as those he had addressed to the Envoy and Minister; the coarseness of the falsehood being too undisguised to deserve the term of hypocrisy. He avowed himself the faithful servant of Shah Soojah, and the devoted ally of the British Government; entreated the interference of General Willshire, as an officer of high rank, to put a stop to the hostile measures

which Captain Bean was meditating against him; declared most solemnly his innocence of all crime against Shah Soojah and the British Government; and concluded by saying, that, if attacked, he would defend himself to the last. This paragraph was in reality as false as the rest of the letter, for Miraub Khan's personal valour was evidently not intentional: his saddled camel was ready for his flight; and had not General Willshire rushed upon him with such totally unexpected precipitancy, and overpowering rapidity of success, this doughty chief would have fled before being brought to extremities. He had calculated to the last on deceiving or bullying the British authorities, and never contemplated the possibility of such promptitude of assault as should not leave him leisure for flight.

It was first proposed that only one regiment should proceed to Khelaut; then that two should go, and finally the detachment of artillery was added; and Brigadier Baumgardt marched with the force in command.

On the evening of November 3rd, General

Willshire dined with us at the staff-mess, nor had any individual present any idea that he would not move with us, who were to commence our march next morning by the Bolan Pass to Daudur.

At day-break General Willshire announced to Brigadier Stephenson, commanding artillery, to Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, Quartermaster General, and to Major Hagart, Deputy Adjutant General, that he had reconsidered the matter, and should leave Brigadier Scott in command of the Bombay column; and that they were to accompany him in pursuit of Brigadier Baumgardt, in order to proceed to Khelaut.

Some confusion, and personal inconvenience to the officers so suddenly called upon to make new arrangements, was the necessary result of this unexpected determination; but it was fortunate for General Willshire and the rest that such a change was made.

On the 4th November the artillery and cavalry brigades, under Brigadier Scott, left Quetta. On the 5th we had the long march of twenty-

eight miles, from Sir-i-Aub to Sir-i-Bolan, which we had made when advancing to Kandahar on the night of the 17th and morning of the 18th April. On our return we sent off baggage over-night, without a shadow of apprehension of Miraub Khan's hostilities. The first bugle sounded at one, and we marched at two; halted for an hour, at sunrise, at the top of the pass, and reached the plenteous spring-head of the Bolan river at eleven: our baggage came up with us, having been detained in the pass; such of it as started before us came up in less than twelve hours.

Our journey through the Bolan Pass was very different on our return from what it had been on our advance. The first march from Quetta we met a party of Bengal Sepoys returning from Daudur, who had marched the distance in seven days, and had neither seen nor heard of Beloochy robbers. We met people everywhere; and once a caravan of camels travelling unprotected, fearing no enemy, and suffering no molestation.

The Poona horse, now commanded by Cap-

tain Keith Erskine, led the way; and their being in advance gave us a painful sight of the savage manners of the miserable inhabitants of this fearful country. One of their horses falling so sick or lame as to be useless, they abandoned it; and we were disgusted beyond description, on our morning's march, to see a large family of Beloochies gathered round the carcase of the dead horse, enjoying a high festival. They declared themselves true believers and good Moslems, though revelling on horse-flesh; and vowed that they found the beast alive, and had repeated the kulma in slaying it, agreeably to the Mahomedan ritual, without which it would be pollution to touch it. Women and children were employed in cooking the carrion collops on a miserable apology for a fire; and the father of the family was distributing the dainty morsels, and carving off the huge muscles of the thighs, &c. The whole was the most frightfully disgusting spectacle of ferocious eating and preparing to eat; and what made it worse, the children were very interesting and fine-looking creatures, and one

little girl of four or five years was a sweet child, whose gentle features were scarcely distorted though tugging at the raw flesh, which had been only blackened and charred by the cookery.

This was the state in which Cæsar found the men of Kent in painted nakedness, and as rough in limb, and coarse in mind as these wild denizens of the Bolan mountains! When, oh when, are the schoolmaster and the missionary to be heard in the recesses of this howling wilderness? and who would be that enemy of his race who would systematically debar the spread of truth, till, covering the whole earth, it reaches to such as those children? "Prevent them not!" is the solemn mandate of mercy; and who can call himself a Christian and dare to disobey it?

The river at the lower part of the pass in the two last stages from Kurtee to Koondye, and from Koondye to Daudur, was deeper than when we came this way in April, and we were now reversing the change of climate. At Quetta, November 4th, the maximum of thermometer

was 68°, minimum 26°, and keen frost every night: on arriving at Daudur on the 10th we found Indian heat and Sind dust; maximum of thermometer was 92°, and minimum 64°.

Throughout the journey we were surprised to find more forage, and even more fire-wood, than had fallen in our way as we advanced: the grass had sprung up in the autumnal rains; and the coarse reeds of the river supplied a green top, which our cattle, after starving through the Toba mountains, made no scruple of masticating. They were evidently less particularly fastidious! Animals as well as men were subdued by endurance into the most praiseworthy indifference respecting how plain the food might be, so that there were food at all.

Brigadier Scott's orders from General Willshire were, to halt at Daudur until the brigade from Khelaut should overtake us there. A seven days' journey to Khelaut, some three or four days' delay there; seven days to return to Quetta, and a halt for rest there,—were calculated as the whole period they would re-

quire, and twenty days were allowed as a liberal estimate for them to overtake us.

But Mr. Bell, the political agent in Sind, who met us at Daudur, had made preparations, and magazines of grain and forage for the cavalry on the route to Sukkur; so that delay became objectionable for commissariat reasons, and we marched to Nousherra on the 14th. At this place Captain Hogg, our chief of the bazaar department, showed me the scene of an occurrence which a singularly good fortune only allowed to be ludicrous.

On our advance, Captain Hogg had travelled with the artillery brigade, which marched two days in front of the cavalry and infantry. When at Nousherra, Captain H. and Major Todd, the political agent, had left camp for some reconnoitring purpose, and were quietly returning home in the dusk of the evening, when, being seen by some blockhead of a sentry, probably half asleep, the idiot fired at them without attempting to challenge; and instantly, the alarm given, a firing began which would have destroyed them before they could have

made themselves known, but for the providential inequality of the ground, and their being able to shelter themselves under a ridgy bank.

The clamour and confusion of the excited camp was too loud for their outcries to be heard; and, some trace of their horses being seen in the distance, a six-pounder was prepared to give them a volley of grape. This they could see quite clearly by the lights of the camp, though they were happily unseen. They were now literally screaming for their lives, and were happily at last heard; but not until the artillery camp had been as thoroughly roused up as if all the Beloochies that occasioned the halt at Jerruk, and all who defended Kurachy against Sir F. Maitland and Brigadier Valiant, had been assaulting the camp together. On the 20th we reached Koonda, on the edge of the desert; and, the following day, we received the first post that had come to hand from General Willshire's division, and this brought us the startling announcement of the fall of Khelaut, and the brilliant success of that gallant and well-conducted enterprise.

General Willshire had been painfully misled by the political authorities, who, from the highest to the lowest, were totally ignorant of what it was their duty to have known, or at least to have been able to conjecture. On the 13th November, at Daudur, the very day that the battle was fought, and, as it happened, at the very hour that it was hottest, I had called on Mr. Bell, the political agent in Upper Sind,* and who had Now Nawaz Khan, the cousin and destined successor of Miraub Khan, in his camp, prepared to enjoy the skin as soon as we should have killed the bear. Mr. Bell was not responsible for anything above the pass, but he had local knowledge, and some means of judging; yet even he, relying probably on Captain Bean's reports, had no conception of any resistance at Khelaut, and ridiculed the apprehension which had induced Captain Bean to advise General Willshire to take so large a force: he did not believe that fifteen hundred armed men were to be found throughout the length and the breadth of Miraub Khan's country.

A brilliant achievement was performed, and General Willshire had no interposition of good fortune to thank for it. His own clear head designed, and his brave troops, following his noble example of personal exposure and contempt of danger, subdued all obstacles, and accomplished a triumph which will make the name and character of the British soldier the terror and wonder of Central Asia, from the Indus to the Caspian and the Euphrates.

No native ever spoke of the storming of Khelaut but with unbounded admiration. Of Ghizni they thought little; even those who did not charge the garrison with treachery, attributed the whole success to the skill of the engineers, in which they were nearly right: but at Khelaut it was a fair stand-up fight, and no favour; and the hardest hitter, holding out longest, had it.

But the native soldier, too, had his share, and did his duty at Khelaut. At Ghizni the four European regiments were the storming party; and it was an unstatesmanlike act, whether military or not, to show "the Affghan

nation, and Asia generally," that the invaders of India would find only twenty thousand European troops, scattered over a million square miles beyond the Sutlege, worth their consideration, and that the one hundred and fifty thousand native soldiery there were not to be counted on, or their opposition apprehended, since our own general could not, or would not, rely on them! General Willshire has removed the chance of that false impression, and his conduct towards the 31st Bengal Native Infantry calls for the gratitude of the country in a more tangible shape than the thanks of Parliament.

A regiment is to be considered as a battery of about six hundred firelocks; and, when properly placed and properly manœuvred by educated and experienced officers, it matters much less than people are prepared to imagine, whether the triggers are pulled by black fingers or white. Every officer who had his choice would, of course, join and accompany a European regiment in action, in preference to a native. That is not the question: the sub-

ject under consideration is the "moral effect—" a phrase we heard till it nauseated us in Sind—produced by the non-appearance of the native soldiery in the storming party at Ghizni, and the removal of that evil impression by General Willshire's manly reliance on the officers and men of the gallant Bengal 31st at Khelaut.

At the period that the report of the fall of Khelaut reached Sind, the mountaineer Beloochies, whose rugged fastnesses skirt the dependencies of Shikarpore, were in arms; and Major Billamore, with the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, a detachment of artillery, and a strong corps of irregular horse, was employed against them. The whole country was agitated by anxiety and alarm of what might befall at Khelaut, and in fear of the ruffians that Miraub Khan's mandate might let loose on the country. The result of the destruction of his power and the termination of his influence was the dissipation of these alarms, and the dispersion of the gangs who had been encouraged to assemble by his letters and emissaries, and were held together only in reliance upon the con-

fusion his power might create: a more rapid change from commotion to quiet cannot be imagined. The new Khan of Khelaut left Mr. Bell's camp with a very small escort, and hurried to his capital to enjoy the vacant honour, and to realize his own unexpected good fortune.

General Willshire, with his gallant column, found no difficulty in travelling from Khelaut through the Gundava Pass to Sind: a route which Sir John Keane had abandoned as impracticable in April, but which was at this period found to be in every respect more accessible than the Bolan, and with fewer difficulties in respect to forage and supplies; there being a few mountain villages, and an appearance of population, instead of an utterly inhospitable desert.

Sir David Ochterlony was once able to make a most advantageous move on the Nepaul frontier by attending to a native tradition, that, some fifty years before, an elephant had been sent from some Rajah of the low country to some Rajah of the Nepaul hills. The legend was inquired into, and found to be true; the

road the elephant had travelled was sought for, traced; and a British column following the route thus discovered, not by accident, but by judicious and sensible inquiry, was enabled to turn the enemy's position, and penetrate into a district that had been considered inaccessible.

It was not the tradition, but the personal knowledge of the people of Gundava, that the chiefs of Khelaut were wont to remove themselves and families every winter to Gundava, and that the train of wheeled carriages and cattle for the women and attendants of the Khan's family descended by the Gundava Pass. Had Sir David Ochterlony been there, the column would probably have ascended from the plain by the route by which those cavalcades had been wont to descend from the mountains in autumn and return again in spring; nor would there have been any probability of his being deceived into the belief that the route was impracticable.

CHAPTER IX.

Cholera a contagious disease. — Death of Surgeon Forbes. — Report of the fall of Khelaut, and of the Russians marching on Khiva.—March to Rojaun.—Arrangements for the sick. — Deaths among the Officers from cholera and small-pox. — Gratifying effects of our expenditure. — The Residency at Shikarpore. — Neighbourhood of Sukkur.—Interesting landscape.—Description of the fort of Sukkur.—Anticipations of prosperity.—Military value of Kurachy.—Financial speculations.—Lofty minaret at Sukkur. — Probable site of towns mentioned by the ancient Greeks.

On the 17th of November, at Baug, commenced a most calamitous occurrence of cholera, the most distressing and untoward event of the whole campaign. I have recorded my opinion in my "Notes on Cholera," published in Calcutta in 1826, that I considered the disease contagious. I have seen nothing since to shake that opinion, and much to confirm it. Let

me be understood, that by contagion I mean, not a degree of virulence of disease which shall as certainly spread into, and operate on, whatever it approaches, as fire explodes gunpowder, or destroys whatever is combustible. If such a disease existed, it would not stop until it had passed through the human race: and consequently the medical philosopher, when he writes of contagion, means something modified by rules and causes which we observe, but cannot understand; which, under predisposing circumstances of liability to receive it, may be transmitted from one that is diseased to another that is not so, but passes innocuous over a large portion of those subjected to its influence.

This is not the place for discussion on the law of contagion: suffice it to say, that on our arrival at Baug, on the 16th of November, we had no disease in our camp; on the morning of the 17th two servants from the staff-lines were taken ill in the village, brought out to camp, and died. The next morning Surgeon Forbes of the 1st Cavalry was attacked, and two or three more servants.

Poor Forbes was more accustomed to hold an intimate intercourse with natives than any other person in the force, and had spent the preceding day in the bazaar at Baug, discussing the statistics and local politics of the place and district with the people in the market. He was, I believe, the only officer of the camp who had been in the village. He called on me as he returned from thence, and sat half an hour showing some coins he had brought from Kaubool, and relating what he had heard in the village. On the morning of the 18th he breakfasted with the regimental mess of the 1st Cavalry, and was in high spirits, and with no sign of disease. He was attacked about eleven o'clock, and within two hours was considered past recovery. Some improvement took place at night. More cases had occurred among the followers; and, the disease being found on inquiry to have been prevailing and still existing in the village, the column moved on next morning a stage of twenty miles. At this stage we had no new cases; and poor Forbes was, beyond hope, better, and apparently doing well. The next

morning, 20th, we made another stage of fifteen miles to Koonda. On arriving at the ground, I found my poor friend Forbes after a bad night in that melancholy state which left no hope. He lingered through the day, and died in the evening.

The following morning, 21st, we received two astounding articles of intelligence, — the fall of Khelaut on the 13th; and an official intimation from Mr. Bell, political agent, to Brigadier Scott commanding, that he had received instructions from the Envoy and Minister to halt the column until further orders, in consequence of a report having reached Kaubool that the Russians in force were marching upon Khiva. We hardly knew which deserved the greatest degree of our wonderment. During the day, a few cases of cholera occurred among the camp-followers; and in the afternoon three European soldiers of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons were attacked. I saw Brigadier Scott on the subject in the evening, and professionally recommended moving, as the disease was then in the village. The political agent's requisition to halt was, of

course, in the contemplation of a very remote contingency; and the pestilence was among us, and at our doors. Brigadier Scott at once concurred; and the move, which could not take place till next evening, was decided on if more cholera should occur.

We were on the edge of the desert, and had a thirty-four miles' march before us. We could not move without preparation, or we should have been off next morning. With daylight I went the round of the hospital, and saw that, though no new cases of the disease had occurred in the night, a change had taken place in many of the sick, and that symptoms of cholera were supervening on other disorders. I rode through the village, and ascertained that cholera had been prevailing there, and that two of the villagers had died during the night. The necessity for removal was not to be disputed.

In the apprehension of deficiency of water in the intervening halting-places betwixt Koonda and Shikarpore, the column moved in two detachments; and the first, consisting of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons and a troop of horse-

artillery, left Koonda that evening at five, halted twice during the night, and reached Rojaun before five in the morning,—a desert march of thirty-four miles done under twelve hours, including halt.

It was near full-moon: a clear, bright, cloudless sky was over head; and under foot the hard-sounding clay of the desert, that echoed as we trod, and over which the artillery-wheels rolled unimpeded as smoothly as the balls over a billiard-table. More advantageous circumstances for making a long march could not have occurred. The humane arrangement in our Indian establishment of doolies, or palankeen-litters for the conveyance of the sick, enabled the most serious cases to be carried along without the risk from fatigue and exposure that would have resulted from any other mode of transport. All the carts that could be found, nearly fifty, were hired, and used for the servants and followers: and thus we travelled on the 24th from Rojaun to Janadeera, on the 25th to Jaugun, and on the 26th to Shikarpore. The rear detachment overtook us on the 27th;

and the following day, the 28th, we moved on to Kye, and on the 29th to Sukkur. No new case occurred after the 27th: but, betwixt the 20th and 30th of November, we had lost through this appalling visitation two officers and fifty-six European soldiers on a total strength in camp short of seven hundred. War and all personal dangers have their *fanfaron* and their excitement, as well as their hazards; but the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday, strike their unresisting victims in the depression of a subdued mind, and spread over the most callous survivors amid their falling comrades that deep-toned anxiety and trouble of the soul which is, like the wounded spirit, unbearable.

The two officers thus cut off after only a few hours' illness, Surgeon Forbes of the 1st Bombay Cavalry, and Captain Ogle of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, were both men of unusually benevolent and warm-hearted dispositions, sincerely and unpretendingly good. It seemed strange that Forbes's disease could be traced to a peculiar and unusual intercourse with natives:

and that Ogle, when the disease commenced, could not be kept out of the hospital; his native kindness impelling him, in spite of warning of the danger, to be almost constantly there. There were not two men in the force more kindly regarded, or that could have been more generally regretted. Only a few days after the decease of Captain Ogle, Lieutenant Janverine of the same regiment fell a victim to small-pox on the 6th of December; a melancholy catastrophe, and which robbed the force of a valuable officer. He had devoted himself to the study of the Asiatic languages, and of Oriental inquiry generally, and had acquired a great fund of information respecting Affghanistan. The loss of such a man would have been deeply felt at an earlier period of the campaign.

The towns of Daudur, Baug, and Gundava have all traces of antiquity, and in past ages have had a population and wealth which have been dispersed or destroyed during the anarchy of the last thirty years. Betwixt Mehur and Baug, we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-con-

vulsion; the strata of soil distinctly showing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface burst upwards and elevated by volcanic action. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of the silt of the Indus, or whatever inland sea once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Daudur to Sukkur is one uniform flat of the same character.

Wherever water is found, the capabilities for cultivation appear very great. Nothing could be more beautiful than the wheat-crops we saw as we travelled through in April at Gundava and Daudur, and the Jowary-crops round Koonda and Baug as we returned.

It was truly gratifying near Shikarpore to see the effect of our expenditure, and the results of security and circulation of money. Large tracts of jungle were cut down, and the plough was going over clearings where harvests had not smiled for an age. We crossed a

canal for irrigation at a point fully thirty miles from the Indus, and which probably ran a course exceeding a hundred miles, that was twelve or fifteen feet deep, and as many broad; which, after having been neglected and dry for half a century, was now under the process of being cleaned out in preparation for next season's inundation. A thousand minor branches extended on either side from the main trunk. The expenditure of the campaign has not been wasted, if the public purse be not exhausted, and England be not too much the worse for it; since it has made Sind and Affghanistan sing for joy, and diffused itself over the land to reappear in ten thousand forms of a new prosperity.

Shikarpore is a modern Hindoo town which has risen, like Pally in Marwar, by being the entrepôt of the trade of Kandahar and the westward with Sind and India. It has no public buildings, and lies on a dreary flat embosomed in a grove of date-trees; the town consisting of a dense mass of mud-built houses in as compact a form, and with as dirty lanes

for its thoroughfares and its crowded bazaars, as can be imagined. Its population of fifty thousand is said to be four-fifths Hindoo.

Mr. Bell, the political agent, has raised a strange-looking pile of building, which is designated the Residency, or something of that sort, in the worst part of a most unhealthy neighbourhood, and one which no European will ever inhabit from July to November with impunity; in sad illustration of which it may be remarked that a detachment of troops stationed here last year has suffered sufficiently to justify the most serious apprehension for any future party or individuals that may have the misfortune to be cantoned in this region of fever. Professional opinion on this subject is not guesswork, but professional knowledge: there is no dire necessity of an unrelenting destiny that experience must be bought.

The approach to Sukkur is through a very dreary woodland of dark tamarisks, and the hills on which the cantonment is built are not seen; for, being only one hundred and thirty feet high above the plain, on one is an imposing

ruin of a tomb, on the other a lofty minaret nearly a hundred feet high.

The hills themselves are the western of the limestone range which extends thence eastward and southward for a hundred and fifty miles towards Jeysulmere, and into the descent toward Balmeer; the country on the bank of the Indus at their western face being a rich and populous district, the dependence of Khyrepore.

The Indus at this place may have originally washed along the outer shoulder of the hills; and the line of the ancient bed of the river seems distinctly to be traced even to where it may be supposed to have first broken through the range, betwixt insulated masses of the limestone formation.

So peculiar a site as the islet fort could not have been overlooked and omitted in the description of Alexander's voyage, had it existed at that period as it now appears; and we may venture to pronounce that the current of the river has since cut itself a way through the looser strata of the limestone ridge and left the harder masses,

one of which now forms the island, and others the hills on the Sukkur side of the river. The twist which the river takes at this place exceeds anything I saw elsewhere; being a horseshoe, or rather three parts of a long oval, not less than nine miles in length, and short of three miles across the neck of the isthmus. In the extreme of this bend are Sukkur on the western side of the river; Bukkur, an island in the current; and the town of Roree on the eastern side.

The view of the river, the island fort, and the opposite bank surmounted with the fortifications and town of Roree, form the most interesting landscape we saw during the campaign. The banks of the river on both sides are deep-green with extensive groves of shady date-trees; the largest, loftiest, and most shady of their kind I ever saw, and extending for some miles down each bank.

Roree is still a town of importance, and contains near ten thousand inhabitants. Sukkur is quite in ruins; but those ruins indicate a once flourishing, rich, and populous capital:

Lt H. Creed, Bombay Artill.y del.

Dean & Munday, Lithog.rs London

FORTRESS of BURKUR, on the INDUS

London, Published by R. Bentley, New Burlington Street. 1840

about a thousand souls appear still to reside in hovels among the relics of more stately habitations. The vicinity of the British cantonment will soon restore a large portion of its ancient wealth, and probably divert the trade that now centres at Shikarpore to a new and safer channel under the protection of the British authority.

The fort of Sukkur is an oblong oval, of about eight hundred yards in length, and in its extreme breadth three hundred. The fortifications are very paltry, and owe their strength to the broad moat of the Indus: but it is commanded by the high banks on either side, and would not be tenable against European artillery; whilst such is the wretched construction of the rampart, that it was found necessary to discontinue the firing of the morning and evening gun, the mere vibration of blank cartridge being too much for the crumbling mud and rubble-work of which the bastions are compounded.

I have seldom felt more struck than with the appearance of this river and its islets; one

having the tomb and shrine of Khajee Khizr, the other the tombs of the saints and nobles of Roree, with beautiful trees overshadowing the buildings; the hills of Roree on the one side, and Sukkur on the other, with the dark wooded banks of the river above and below; the broad expanse of the stream, about eight hundred yards wide, covered with boats; and the rising British cantonment, destined in a few years to attract new wealth and new population, and probably to change the moral as well as political character of the country.

The fort of Bukkur, and the town and fort of Kurachy, have been surrendered back to their original owners. The coming events, which are casting their shadows before them, will soon demonstrate the wisdom of this measure, which is an abandonment of one of the few real advantages obtained for British interest by the campaign. The fort as a military keep is of no value, but the retention of it indicated a footing in, and possession of, the country; and those who have advised that the appearance of this should be eschewed,

know little of what constitutes our strength in India.

But the port of Kurachy, with a safe entrance of eleven fathoms, and land-locked from every wind, is the most important position on the coast, and has something more than an imaginary value dependent on opinion; whilst the climate permits the cantoning of troops within five days' communication by steam with Bombay, and within twenty days' easy land-march of Sukkur, without reference to the river for a military movement. The position commands Sind and controls the Indus; and must be to Sind, the Punjaub, and its dependencies, and the whole "Douranee empire," what Alexandria is to Egypt, and was to India and to Europe, as the key of their mutual communications, before the discovery of De Gama. The situation of the cantonment of Sukkur has been selected by Brigadier Gordon most judiciously in every respect, whether as a military position or as a healthy site: but the bazaar, which might probably have increased to a populous and rich native city, has been

placed on a low damp ground adjacent to the river, in a situation so necessarily unhealthy, that none, save the mere dependents of the camp are likely to remain there; and the chief advantages of the circulation of money and the trade of camp will devolve to the town of Roree, and cause in time the rebuilding of Sukkur.

It is somewhat strange that the planners of our cantonments have never had a sufficiency of political economy to secure for British territory, and the British revenue, the advantages that result to the neighbouring country from the expenditure of so much ready money, monthly, as occurs in our cantonments.

It is not only an essential military and political measure, but also a very important financial one, to retain those advantages for our own subjects; and, wherever a force is to be stationed beyond the frontier, the cession of a district of at least twenty miles square should be first stipulated for: since I need only point to Deesa and Belgaum as illustrations of my meaning, and show what the chiefs of Palhan-

pore and Shapore have gained, in increase of revenue, by the expenditure of those cantonments, to prove the correctness of this reasoning.

Our cantonments of Sukkur and Kurachy will enrich the Ameers of Sind at our expense; and the nominal receipts from the treasuries of Sind by the British Government, will be repaid tenfold by the British Government to the treasuries of Sind.

A lofty minaret, the ornament of a Syud's tomb, and standing on a hill about one hundred and thirty feet high, is the most conspicuous object of the new cantonment. It is ascended by a winding stone stair; and from its airy summit, about a hundred feet high, the whole country round, to Shikarpore west and Khyrepore east, may be seen spread below like a panoramic map, and the broad stream of the river twisting and twining in its most unprecedented sinuosities, — the most singular meandering that probably any river in the world exhibits. It was my favourite resort; and I have sat for hours on that lofty pinnacle, whilst

Fancy has filled the wild scenes before me, in rapid succession, with all that has pointed the moral and adorned the tale of the Indus' history.

The site of Sukkur, or its vicinity, occupies in the ancient legends of the country the same importance in Upper Sind that Sehwan held as the capital of Lower Sind; and Sri Meeneegur, as the capital of the Delta; and Bamboora and Brahminabad, now ruins, as the sea-ports of the valley of the Indus.

I could never learn the seven names of Sehwan, nor more than that Bagdad was the appellation superseded by Sehwan. The Mahomedan invaders have frequently given their names to Hindoo towns, as in the case of Hyderabad, the present capital of Lower Sind, which was Nerankote under the Hindoo dynasty; but the Hindoos never forget the ancient appellations, and their legends are good authentic aids to history. I have supposed Sehwan to be Patala; and Tatta, Minigara. I would further place the city of Musicanus at Aloree, the ruined city destroyed by Ma-

homed bin Kasim a thousand years ago, and which has been superseded by the modern towns of Sukkur and Roree; and Sindomana below Khyrepore, in the vicinity of Nousherra.

The distance from Sukkur to the junction of the five great rivers of the Punjaub is not short of two hundred miles by the river; Sehwan lies nearly the same distance south, and from thence to Tatta is about one hundred and forty miles; and these distances tally with the brief outlines of history which have reached us of the Greek expedition; whilst the accidental mention of the invalids and home-sick of the Greek army being sent back through the country of Oxycanus to Carmania indicates the route of the Bolan Pass and Kutch Gundava, a district on the western side of the river: thus giving us, in the order of Alexander's conquests, first, the Sogdi in the Bawulpore country; second, Musicanus at Aloree; third, the country of Oxycanus in Gundava; fourth, the country of Sambus and his Indian mountaineers eastward to the mountains of Jeysulmere, his southern boundary being Lower Sind or Pata-

lena; and in all we appear to have probability for our conjectures. The last of the Hindoo towns named by Diodorus is Hermatelia; which, as Herma Talaone, indicates a native name, and, if not washed away by the river, will no doubt be found in some shapeless ruin, or some decayed village, when we have acquired a more thorough knowledge of the country.

CHAPTER X.

Sukkur.—Mild temperature.—Old friends.—House of Dr. Don.—Depôt General Hospital.—Remark of the Duke of Wellington.—Necessity of an improved provision for the sick.—Necessary expenditure of officers in the native regiments.—Propriety of their receiving an increased Government allowance.—Expediency of securing Herat. —Orders for breaking up the Bombay division.—Military movements.—News of my promotion, with instructions to proceed to Bombay.—Arrangements for my departure.—My last evening at Sukkur.—Festival in honour of a native officer.—Observations on the Sattara affair.

KAUBOOL had been a bright oasis in the desert: we found a second at Sukkur. The climate during December, in 27° 50′ north, and within reach of the freezing blasts from Khelaut, must approximate to the most congenial spots of Italy. Not a cloud ever obscured the sky; and the thermometer, varying from a maximum

of 68° in a house to a minimum of 45°, sufficiently indicates the pleasurable feeling of pure air and mild temperature. No frost occurred, but a wood-fire evening and morning was very agreeable; and the abundant bazaar of Sukkur, and a full supply of wines, re-established the sociability of our table. We found our old friends too, the 5th and 23rd regiments, here. The 1st Grenadiers, under Major Billamore, were absent on field-service, subduing Beloochies. My friend and coadjutor, Doctor Don, whose duties were to superintend the medical stores of the army, had been left behind with them, when no camels were to be had for their conveyance. He had further been placed in charge of the Depôt General Hospital, European and Native, established at Sukkur, and had enjoyed no sinecure since we parted. His report on the climate of Upper Sind, and its effects on Europeans, betwixt April and October, will be published by the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay; and may, I trust, save European lives and the Government treasury, by preventing European troops from being stationed at

Sukkur, or in any part of the valley of the Indus.

Doctor Don had built himself a "mud edifice," whose inner walls, being coloured with the yellow ochre which is abundant in the hill, presented to us, who had been a year in tents, the *beau-idéal* of luxurious comfort. It had cost him four hundred and fifty rupees building, and had a flat roof on which we could promenade; and was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and twelve high, with a sloping-roofed veranda eight feet broad all round it, from which two rooms were partitioned off for bedrooms, nearly twenty feet by eight each. One of these chambers was allotted to me; and I looked in wonderment at man's inventions and performances when I found myself its tenant, within walls and under a roof, instead of being a dweller in a tent.

The building Doctor Don had been able to get run up for his general hospital, was about ninety feet long, fifteen feet in breadth and heighth, with a flat roof; and the veranda, of the same elevation, supported on square pillars.

The whole of the walls, roof, and pillars were of mud. Crowning the summit of an isolated hill, this long, flat-roofed building with its veranda pillars, was not unlike at a distance the drawings of what Don termed it, the Temple of Luxor! It was admirably adapted for the purposes for which it had been built; and its shelter proved of immense benefit to the sick we brought in with us.

The Duke of Wellington has made a judicious and valuable remark, to the effect that "a sick soldier is not only useless for the purposes for which he is conveyed at a great expense to a remote colony or dependency, but he becomes a serious responsibility, a great expense, and a heavy burthen." Nothing can be more true: and few matters relating to military arrangement deserve more attention. If the treasury were inexhaustible in the first place, and if, in the second, the Jaffa doctrine of administering opium to the supposed incurably sick could be allowed, the sickness of the soldier would be a very secondary consideration; he might so easily be got rid off, and his place so easily re-

supplied: but since revenue is limited, and British law and feelings, as well as Christianity, forbid the tyrant's contempt of human life, and permit no tampering with it, there are no preliminary points more urgently essential, in any campaign, than those which relate to preserving the health of the soldier.

I am on delicate ground here; and as this is not the place to urge on the public attention, that, in my opinion, the professional services of the hospital department are of greater moment than they are generally considered, and that they might be more advantageously directed, I will pass on, and merely hope that in this respect a better time is coming.

The 23rd regiment Bombay Native Infantry, which we found stationed at Sukkur, are justly celebrated for the admirable management of their mess; and many a delightful evening was spent in the enjoyment of comforts which had been so long denied us. The native regiments are necessarily weak in officers; the full complement, when complete, being only twenty, with the surgeon. The numbers absent on

staff duty, and on furlough to Europe, either on private affairs or through sickness, reduce the total of those generally present to an average below ten; and of these it will very frequently happen that from two to six may be absent on detachment duties of the thousand kinds that occur in India: thus great exertions and much personal sacrifice are requisite to maintain a good mess in a native regiment. A trifling allowance is bestowed by Government; but it is not half what ought to be given, and does not, I believe, at all equal what is granted in the royal service, either as respects money or money's worth, to each regimental mess; without reference to the fact, that the royal regiments have generally double, and frequently treble, the number of officers present.

Every officer who leaves India on furlough or sick-leave, devolves an increased duty on his comrades who remain, and saves to Government the amount of his Indian allowances; say of a captain, rupees two hundred and ninety per month. A small proportion of such saving to Government might be most advantageously be-

stowed in promoting the comfort of the duty officers who remain.

Whilst we were at Sukkur, every officer of the 23rd regiment left head-quarters on duty; so that Lieutenants Stock and Forbes, the Adjutant and Quarter-master, and Assistant Surgeon Carnegie, were the only three present. A great expense must have devolved on them, and the absent officers must have paid a great deal towards a table they did not benefit by whilst absent; and the reader need not be told that the emoluments of a regimental subaltern officer do not exceed his unavoidable expenditure. This is at least one point on which the benevolent consideration of the Home Government might be bestowed; and it would be deeply felt by the most deserving and most valuable class of their servants in India, the duty officers of their native regiments.

On the 9th of December we received letters from General Willshire's column, stating that the General had left Khelaut on the 21st of November, and reached Sind through the Gundava Pass without any difficulty. His inten-

tion was to proceed to Larkhanu, and not to Sukkur; and the officers of the general staff were ordered thither to meet him. This was not pleasant news: like those who visited the Lotophagi, and, eating lotus, forgot their country, we had learnt to prefer the comforts and abundance of a fixed cantonment to the disagreeables of a camp. The General reached Larkhanu on the 18th, and was joined by the staff on his arrival.

It had transpired that Lord Auckland had written to Mr. Bell, that he was not to attach importance to the wild reports he would hear of the advance of the Russians; and it was whispered by those who knew, or affected to know, more than their neighbours, that the halt of the Bombay column had never had reference to the Russian advance, but to some political moves at Heraut. It need not be doubted for a moment, but that having spent three millions in "hurling the usurper from his throne,"—that is to say, in deposing Dost Mahomed, and in the creation of the "Douranee empire,"—the "moral effect" of deposing Kamranshah, and of annexing Heraut

to Kaubool, would have been incalculable, consolidating the strength of Kaubool by a frontier position which recent circumstances have proved to be invaluable.

When sober history relates how Shah Soojah, with the countenance of Runjit Sing, attempted to eject Dost Mahomed and reinstate himself in 1834; and how Runjit Sing availed himself of the opportunity of Shah Soojah's attack on Kandahar having drawn the strength of Dost Mahomed's forces thither, to make himself master of Peshawer; it will not say that any attempt of Dost Mahomed to eject Runjit Sing from his usurpation on the west bank of the Indus was "an unprovoked attack on our ancient ally." My notes are not history, but a personal narrative, and [illegible]inion of one who had no access to un[illegible]d official documents; consequently th[illegible]d to little value more than that t[illegible] what was generally thought and belie[illegible]he unofficial circle of spectators and subo[illegible]ate actors in the scene.

I may therefore remark, that, setting aside the consideration of the justice or wisdom of the

expedition against Dost Mahomed in favour of the Douranee empire, being once involved, the expediency of securing Heraut is not to be disputed; all discussion will hinge on that first step, which rendered the others indispensably necessary.

The districts of Peshawer and the Derajaat, on the west bank of the Indus, which were wrested by Runjit Sing from Dost Mahomed, are as valuable and important to the Douranee empire as they were to the "ex-ruler;" and our future position at Kaubool will be the incessant renewal of those claims at every opportunity; and eventually, at no long interval, we shall have foreign intrigue offering influence and money to regain by force what we refuse to obtain in any way; and those suggestions will be listened to, and our [illegible] Kaubool, which debars the king of the Douranee empire from any political relation with any foreign power, save through the British [illegible]tion, will be treated with ridicule by any foreign power to whom it is not politically inconvenient to declare war against us.

Our policy is clear and imperative, to work through what has been begun; for let it be distinctly understood that Lord Auckland's policy is not the end, but a beginning only. Heraut must be subdued and annexed to Kaubool for its own security; and our hold on Kaubool must be, after compelling or bribing Runjit Sing's successor to restore Peshawer and the Derajaat, the maintenance of such a frontier force as shall show the Kaubool court that the first moment of a rupture with the British Government will be the certain loss of those valuable districts on the bank of the Indus, accessible at once to, and utterly indefensible from, British hostility. But Heraut is not yet annexed to Kaubool, and the Seik Government still holds Peshawer and the Derajaat; and the strife and the outlay yet to be prepared for are neither trifling in themselves, nor in what may result from them.

On the 24th of December General Willshire received, at Larkhanu, the orders of Lord Auckland for the breaking up of the Bombay division of the army of the Indus. From the 9th

of December the military arrangements for Sind were made over to the Bombay Government; her Majesty's 17th regiment and the Artillery Brigade were to halt at Sukkur, pending, as it was supposed, the discussion in progress at Heraut; and the Cavalry Brigade, and her Majesty's 2nd Royals were instructed to proceed to Poona and Deesa.

On the 27th we commenced our march to Sukkur; the 2nd Queen's Royals, under Colonel Baumgardt, whose brigade was now broken up, moving to the bank of the Indus, where, after a short delay, they embarked in boats, and reached Kurachy about the 30th of January.

Our march of five short stages to Sukkur was completed without a halt; and we ended the year and our march together, arriving at Sukkur on the 31st of December.

A distance of fifty miles from Larkhanu to Sukkur is almost entirely along the bank of the Indus, and through one of the richest districts that can be imagined; but even in this Garden of Sind we saw proofs at every step of a new prosperity. The fields are irrigated by

shafts, dug a few feet distant from the river-bank, and a tunnel made for the water to enter, whence it is drawn by Persian wheels worked by oxen. These shafts occur at every two or three hundred yards, and there appeared at least as many new ones, evidently having their date from this year, as there were several older, some finished and some in progress; and everywhere an activity and spirit of industry, such as must be a new feature to the country.

On arriving at Sukkur, I was informed that General Willshire had received a communication from the Bombay Government, notifying that my promotion by seniority was to take place on the 15th of January, from the resignation of Mr. Orton; and that I was to be instructed to proceed to Bombay to take my seat at the Medical Board. Our Indian designations of Superintending Surgeons, and Members of the Medical Board, are parallel with the Royal Staff Officers, Deputy Inspectors, and Inspectors General of Hospitals; and rank respectively as Lieutenant Colonels and Brigadier Generals in the army.

My promotion was attained early, compared with the Bengal establishment, for an obvious reason, that the Bombay establishment has been nearly doubled since I joined it in 1810; but after a medical officer, who cannot begin a boy, has served twenty-nine years within the tropics, he cannot be supposed to have more than a very little fragment of life left to enjoy anything that may accrue to him in virtue of his seniority. Fortunate or not, I may venture to say that I have not been a drone in the hive; having never had a furlough nor held a Presidency appointment, and having spent eighteen years of my twenty-nine in the unhealthy region of Guzerat.

I had now to arrange for my departure, without reference to the departure of the column. The year had closed, and it was necessary that the official documents should be forwarded, that none of my duty might be left to my successor. During our weary marches, the routine of returns and reports had fallen into arrear, partly through interruptions of office duty, but chiefly through mischances of losses

of posts destroyed by Beloochies. I never worked harder than during the last thirteen days I spent at Sukkur, but the work was completed satisfactorily before my departure.

My last evening at Sukkur was pleasantly spent at the comfortable mess-table of the 23rd regiment at a festival dinner given under the peculiar circumstanees of a native officer of the regiment having received from the Supreme Government the decoration of the order of British India. This valuable order is not only a personal decoration worn on the uniform, but is accompanied with a substantial increase of salary, and may thus be recognised as an advantage by the dullest of the herd, in whose plebeian clay is no spark of that patrician chivalry which would pluck up drowned Honour by the locks for half a quarter of a yard of sixpenny ribbon!

Subedar Buhadur Sew Golaum Sing was one of the individuals whom the Rajah of Sattara had attempted to persuade to aid

him in exciting a commotion in the Dekkan: this is not the place, nor am I the person, to discuss the question of that contemptible design, which was not the less odious because the capacity and the means of the prime mover were unequal to his objects and wishes. Sew Golaum Sing was a cool-headed thinking man, of one of the best Hindoo tribes, and just the person from his position in his regiment, then stationed at Sattara, and his birthright claims of sanctity of caste, to have attracted the Rajah's notice, and the last to have betrayed him under supposed ordinary circumstances; but the tie betwixt the Hindoo race and their hereditary chiefs was broken, first by the Mahomedans, since by their own degeneracy, and lastly by the British character for truth and fidelity to its engagements. The monthly payment to the native soldiers never ceases, and the monthly pension to the invalid and the heirs of the deceased is never tampered with; and these extend to

an amount which embraces some member of almost every family throughout India, and are discharged with their periodical promptitude, and certainly in a manner that is the world's wonder among Asiatics.

They judge of all native governments by the falsehood of tongue and rottenness of heart, which are only poor human nature in its native debasement, when the head is turned and the disposition brutalized by the possession of arbitrary power, by idolatry in religion, and polygamy in marriage, of which order of princes alone they have had any experience.

The Sattara affair has attracted attention at home, and a Captain Cogan of the Indian navy has been making himself conspicuous in the matter. Sir John Hobhouse's version of the strange expressions attributed to him have not reached India; but what he ought to have said to a person like Captain Cogan should have been, "Your rank and place as a Bombay

marine officer were not such as are likely to have attracted the notice of the Rajah of Sattara; nor are the opportunities you have had of distinguishing yourself such as to justify the belief that your reputation as a person qualified to advise, should have travelled to Sattara; nor have you ever held any public position that should have drawn a native chief to have applied to you for countenance and support.

"In India you had a certain duty to discharge, for which you received a certain salary; and when the Indian Board want advice respecting Bunder-boats and botillas, and require information respecting the South Prong or Butcher's Island, no one will doubt your qualification to speak on those subjects; but in all that relates to the Sattara affairs you can know nothing but through the medium of others."

The British public are deceived with this cant about native princes and their sovereign

rights: the greatest good to the greatest number requires an end of their absurd pretensions, which cannot be conceded without the ruin of the country. When their territories lie beyond our frontier, the less we trouble our heads with their internal policy the better: we cannot interfere but to control; and that must end in extension of frontier, petty jealousies, mistrusts, frauds, application for foreign aid contrary to treaty; and war and subjugation are the steps traced by a dire necessity which there is no avoiding.

But when petty independencies claim sovereign rights, or have that royalty claimed for them by such mistaken advocates as Captain Cogan; when their territories and kingdoms of a few square miles are dovetailed into British territories, and lie intermingled like the black and white squares of a chess-board, it requires no prophet to foresee that the thousand caprices of a thousand despots must make sad havoc of the happiness of their miserable dependents, and that they cannot destroy the peace and prosperity of their black squares

without some serious injury resulting to our white ones.

The Kurnool magazine of five hundred pieces of artillery, found buried and concealed within three hundred miles of Sattara, was an overt act, which proved the hostility that was meditated there; and showed that certain enemies of England had succeeded in convincing at least one chief, and he an inferior in income and fancied hereditary claims to the Rajah of Sattara, that the time was come when "Goa, the gate of India," might receive an army from foreign Europe to dispute our supremacy, and for all the enemies of England to rally round: consequently there is no such wild impossibility in the supposition that the Rajah of Sattara entertained the same belief and acted on the same reasoning.

The chief of Sattara enjoys a royal revenue of fifteen lahks of rupees, grand total, or about 150,000*l.* per annum, for all the state purposes of his civil and military administration: a mighty potentate truly! Mr. Elphinstone and Sir Lionel Smith found him a close prisoner,

and made him all that he is: but it was a mistake, originating in erroneous though high-minded views towards the petty states in the Dekkan; and a false step of the same order, and through the same generous motives, which placed an income of 120,000*l.* at the disposal of the ex-Peishwa, which could only be employed in the most mischievous intriguing that disappointed ambition, and fallen greatness, and the ranklings of hatred and bigotry could accomplish.

To that Brahmin wealth at Benares, and to Brahminical machinations, disseminated through every quarter and into every remote nook of India, so directed and so operating, may most probably be traced, without reference to Russian emissaries, the whole of that agitation, and unsettledness, and looking for a change, which seems to have been excited throughout the country, no one knew how, who did not take the trouble to recollect that there was the fallen head of a falling priesthood at Benares, possessing every qualification of personal character, with purse, position, and party at his

command, and disposed to use all to disturb the native mind, and to agitate the worst hopes and passions of all that are "in distress, in debt, or discontent," throughout the empire.

To return to the native officers of the 23rd regiment. Brigadier Gordon and all the senior officers of the station dined at the mess in honour of Sew Golaum Sing's advancement. After dinner, the decorated Subedar, and all his brother native officers, entered the mess tent, and were kindly and appropriately addressed by Lieutenant Hock, the adjutant, in the name of his regiment. The Subedar's reply was highly creditable to the man, and to the class; and the whole party then adjourned to a tent, where Sew Golaum Sing had prepared a native entertainment for all his brother native officers, and where it was kept up long after our departure; in fact I heard the sound of music and native revelry when I woke after my first sleep.

The whole affair was admirably good,—

the occasion, the cause, the party by whom, and the spot where the celebration occurred: it would be heard of throughout Sind, and reported through Shikarpore correspondence to Heraut, and Bokhara, and Lahore.

CHAPTER XI.

Voyage to Tatta with Col. Scott.—Col. Scott and the rats.—Changes in the Indus.—Gale of wind.—Iron steam-boats unfit for river navigation.—Construction of native boats.—Undermining process of the current.—Alligator fired at by Col. Scott.—Reception at Tatta.—Garra.—The ancient Barbarika.—Mouj-durria.—Great mortality in the 26th regiment of Native Infantry.—Harbour of Kurachy.—Ancient promontory Barake.—Dwarka.—Marriott's monument.—Parting glance at the ancient descriptions.—Bombay fisheries.—Return to Bombay.—Reflections.—Conclusion.

Colonel Scott, of her Majesty's 4th Dragoons, having resigned his command of the Cavalry Brigade, he and I embarked together on the morning of the 13th of January, to make the voyage to Tatta along the Indus: we had two large boats, one for ourselves, and the other for our five horses, tents, and servants. Our boat afforded cabin-room for a sleeping-berth, a dining-room, and kitchen. Our progress was uniformly about five miles

per hour by the force of the current, aided by two large oars or sweeps near the bow, worked each by a man and a boy: and by a very large skull or sweep-oar, worked by the steersman, which guided the boat as well as aided her speed. The poor fellows worked steadily fully eight hours through the day, occasionally resting to smoke their hookahs when any narrow of the river betwixt sand-banks lent increased speed to the current, which probably occurred for a quarter of every hour daily. No rude motion disturbed our ease: the placid river navigation was calmly gliding along an untroubled stream, and with a progress as unperceived as the silent lapse of time towards eternity.

At sun-set we brought up for the night: the boats were made fast to the shore; the crew landed to cook and eat, and we to walk for exercise. Our dinner was announced by seven o'clock, and we closed the day in the "feast of reason and the flow of soul;" our servants being adepts ere this at camp cookery, and the art of improvising dinner — and

a good dinner too — being well acquired. In process of time we sought repose; and then commenced our discovery that Whittington's cat would have been an invaluable *compagnon de voyage* on the Indus, as well as on the coast of Africa. The Sind boats are all infested with colonies of rats, of which they will, no doubt, be cleared in time by the march of intellect; but, as we were voyaging in the transition period, we had to endure the brunt of it.

When we compared notes in the morning after our night's adventure, it was evident that Scott had been most familiarized in rat experience: "I did not care," said he, "at their scampering in couples over my bed, and coming down bump upon me from the ceiling; but when one hungry villain clapped his cold paws upon my cheek, and sniffed about with his cold nose over my eyes and up my nostrils, I could stand it no longer!" I certainly should have jumped about vehemently had I been pawed and nosed after the same fashion; but let Colonel Scott's experience

warn all future voyagers on the Indus to embark with a cat in their company.

On the 14th we passed Larkhanu about our breakfast hour, and brought up at night at Nishara, opposite to a ferry and considerable thoroughfare named Par Putti. Whether this name has any relation to Patala, I know not; but the division of Higher and Lower Sind, must be near this, and both Putti and Nishara have significations to justify the supposition of a boundary: our boat-people, too, considered that they were entering a new country, and reinforced their crews with two additional oarsmen to each boat.

On the 15th, in the morning, we passed the relics of Sher Sehtanry, an ancient city which the river has encroached on, and is carrying away. At noon passed a tomb in the distance, with its white-washed cupola, said to preserve the memory of Gole Komer, a chief slain in battle at a neighbouring village named Rookan.

On the 16th, we had fine views of the Lukky mountains in the distance; and at one P. M.

brought up at Sehwan to dispatch a note and newspapers to Captain Lyons, who had been detached from Sukkur on commissariat duty.

The channel of the Indus through which all our fleet of store-boats sailed last March, was quite filled up; and in another year Sehwan may be an inland town, a mile and a half from the river. Proceeding on, we sailed over the identical geographical site, under the shoulder of the Lukky mountain, where the Lukky Pass had been, over which the army had marched last February: the current rolled along the side of the bare rock, and no one, who had not seen it last February, could have imagined that it had not rolled thus since the creation.

We had this day experience of a gale of wind on the Indus; the instantaneous destruction of the steamer on the Euphrates by a sudden whirlwind may be understood by those who have seen such inland hurricanes in this country. One which occurred at Sukkur, in April 1839, is described, by those who saw it, as the most awful conflict of the elements

that could be imagined: the suffocating dust, the roar of the winds, and the unearthly tumult and confusion surpassed description, and exceeded all that could have been previously imagined. We had it not in this extreme severity; but our clumsy boat could not be kept in the current, and was borne by the force of the wind against the bank: we were obliged to halt at Mehr, opposite the town of Lukky.

On the morning of the 17th we brought up at a populous and pleasingly-situated town, Cheychun, to obtain a supply of eggs and vegetables: they were procured; and, proceeding on our way, we met a fleet of boats having on board Captain Watkins and a company of the 23rd regiment, who had been sent for treasure to Hyderabad from Sukkur. As a contrast between the rate at which we were sailing down the current, and the pace our friend was tracking up against it, he had left Hyderabad nine days before. On the 8th we relied confidently on being there at an early hour next day, and were so. At four in the

afternoon we saw the Snake steamer; and as we passed, Captain Carless, of the Indian navy, who commanded her, paid us a visit. His name may be associated with those of Burnes and Wood in the history of the Indus discoveries, which may be said to have opened a new road to a new world in Indian relations, and thrown a new light on modern geography and ancient history. He was accompanied by Major Felix, who had hoped to have travelled up and seen Bukkur, but was disappointed by the unfitness of the iron steam-boats for river navigation.

Captain Carless, as a scientific naval officer, will, no doubt, explain that unfitness. To me it appeared that a flat-bottomed boat, drawing forty-two inches' water, working by steam against a current of three or four miles per hour, would, when in fifty or sixty inches' water, have such an eddy under her stern that her rudder could not operate. The Sind boats slope inwards from the taffrail fully eight or nine feet, and are either steered by an immense skull-oar, or have a perpendicular beam

let down from the stern under the taffrail, and joined to another beam, projecting backward from the counter and rudder-post; and the rudder, a huge triangular frame, is rigged upon the former, to work at least six or eight feet distant from the heel of the keel: at that distance it is removed from the force and whirl of the eddy, bubbling and boiling under the stern, and can be felt by the vessel. Where we met Captain Carless is nearly midway betwixt Hyderabad and Sehwan. Greater changes seem to have occurred in the river here than elsewhere. It is the broadest and shallowest part of the river. Everywhere new channels were forming and old ones being blocked up. It is a little above this that the Fuleila branch, which passes Hyderabad, turns off; and somewhere near this I would place the apex of the Delta and the commencement of the island Patalene.

At sunset we saw the Indus, an iron steamer, at anchor in the mid-current. She was anchored by a chain-cable, and the torrent roaring past pulled her head down, so that

the figures on her cutwater and stern-post showed that she drew a foot more water at her head than at her stern. When under way, her draught was apparently three feet and a half. This would not be too much for a properly constructed vessel; for it is difficult to suppose that a river which has no ford for a thousand miles has not a four-feet water channel through its whole course.

This evening I had the good fortune to observe the effect of the river's undermining power against its banks. Either the gale of the preceding day had thrown up some bank, so as to give a new direction to the current, or had opened some channel, partially closed, so as to direct the whole force of the river against the usually earthy bank, which was here, at an angle, covered with stately trees. By a happy accident I was looking in the direction, seeing masses of earth and bushes falling at a distance of about two hundred yards, when suddenly the whole headland, apparently thirty feet above the water, and perhaps fifty feet in front to the river, and

ten or twelve deep inwards, being undermined, rolled crumbling into the river. Two large acacia-trees seemed to have a moment's delay, being probably held by the roots extending inwards beyond where the bank was giving way, and then fell forward into the river. It was truly a sublime sight; and nature's gigantic operations were shown in their full action. Those trees, thus under-dug and swept away, would undoubtedly help to block up some old channel and open some new one; for, wherever they grounded, they would form the nucleus of an island and the cause of a current. That evening we halted at Gatana. A navigable channel here rejoined the main stream. We had not observed above where it had separated. All night we heard the loud reports of masses of the undermined bank falling into the river, like the thunder of artillery; and, at every fall, a concussion of the water occasioned our boat to give a roll and pitch, that showed what a vast bulk had each time disturbed the sleeping surface of the river.

On the 18th we reached Hyderabad, before

noon: we were kindly received by Captain Whitelock, the officer in charge of the Residency, left our letters and proceeded; but the wind was still adverse, and for an hour, at four, we were compelled to halt at one of the Ameers' shikargahs. We made little way after, and halted at Brunkinna.

The 19th we had a steady adverse wind blowing all day, and our people were hard-worked to go on: we passed the town and hills of Jerruk. At noon we had a fine view of an alligator of the largest size, probably not less than twelve feet in length, basking or asleep on an islet rock: as we glided close to it, Colonel Scott treated the brute with a load of shot,—he had not time to load with ball, the animal not being perceived until we were close on him, and drifting rapidly past; his movement, when tickled by the shot about his eyes and ears, was a very awkward and clumsy attempt at agility as he plunged into the water.

A small and very ancient tomb, a stone cupola on four square columns of very delicate

proportions, and what seemed other ruins on some very marked hills, probably ten miles below Jerruk, appeared to indicate the relics of some ancient city; but we could not stop to examine them.

That evening we halted within five miles of Tatta, delayed by the foul wind; and next morning reached the end of our voyage by sunrise. The distance, of about three hundred and sixty miles, had been done in less than seventy hours, though part of the time was a struggle against a strong adverse wind. With the single exception of our friends the rats, our voyage had been exceedingly agreeable; and, had we been heathens, we should have poured our libations to the Indus, and sacrificed the cup to the genius of the stream.

We were most hospitably received in the ancient British factory at Tatta by Captain Parr, the commissariat officer: we saw traces of the old establishment, and names of forgotten factors carved on the doors and windows. It was strange to think on all that had occurred since their day, and difficult to explain the

misinformation and mismanagement through which British influence had receded from this important frontier, whilst it had filled the whole earth of India, either unresisted or overpowering all resistance, elsewhere.

A night of heavy rain on the evening of the 21st prevented our proceeding next day to Kurachy, and detained us the 23rd. On the 24th we had a toilsome journey, nearly fetlock-deep in mud, the result of the heavy rain, the whole way, from four in the morning till past ten, six hours' tedious wading to Garra, a distance of about twenty miles, where we found a tide creek, and boats ready for us: we embarked at high-water at twelve. A strong tide and a favourable wind carried us along at a rapid rate, and it was soon evident that the creek we were navigating was an ancient outlet of the Indus; the same banks that occur at Tatta were here, and a noble channel much broader than the Hujamry. A canal short of twenty-five miles without a lock, through a sandy soil, the deposits of the Indus over a perfectly level country, dug to twenty feet deep, would carry

the ocean tide to the Indus a few miles above Tatta.

On this branch of the river was the ancient emporium Barbarika, or Bamboora. The ruins are described by the natives as the relics of the oldest seaport of Sind. Outram describes them thus: "At about two miles from Gharry-kote (Garra) I went off the road a few hundred yards to inspect the ruins of a city covering a low hill edging the river for about a quarter of a mile: the foundation of walls, bastions, and houses can be distinctly traced, and appear very ancient; coins are frequently washed up in the rains. The name given by my guide was Bamboora."

The affix Ke is the sign of the genitive case, Bamboora Ke Bunder would be the harbour of Bamboora; and a Greek writer would be too well pleased to write Barbariki to omit the opportunity. It is not however the sound, but the site which guides me, when I say that the ruins represent the locality assigned by ancient geography.

Outram saw other ruins in this vicinity.

"At about ten miles from Gharry-kote, (Garra), and opposite to a small village called Meerpore, the ruins of a city were pointed out to me at some distance off the road, which I had not time to visit; it is called Mouj-durria, and said to be Mahomedan, of much greater extent and in better preservation than Bamboora."

The name Mouj-durria, meaning "wave of the sea," more probably applies to the ruins themselves, and the cause of their destruction, than gives the original name of an ancient city. I would seek Debal Sindi here, and should doubt the Mahomedan origin, as the Mahomedans have not been builders but destroyers in Sind. Under any circumstances, two extensive ruins within twelve miles prove ancient population, and go far to establish my supposition that the Garra Creek, in the age of Alexandria, was the western outlet of the Indus.

The creek approaches within six miles of Kurachy in a westerly direction, and then turns south into the sea, within nine miles of Kurachy harbour; and such is the description by Arrian of the western outlet.

At Kurachy I had the pain to visit the hospital of the 26th regiment Native Infantry, which had been nearly destroyed, and was now totally disorganized as a military body by the climate of Tatta. On the 28th of January, the hospital registers showed that this unfortunate corps had had one thousand five hundred and seventy-six cases treated in hospital betwixt August 1st and that date, of which upwards of ninety had died; and there were at the time five hundred and forty-two men on the hospital report unfit for duty; a sickness and mortality beyond all I have ever known or heard of among native troops in India.

During the said period, the 2nd Bombay regiment stationed at Kurachy had had two hundred and ninety-five cases treated, and three deaths.

Had her Majesty's 40th regiment, which had remained at Kurachy, been removed to Tatta, which it most probably would have been but for the exertions of Colonel Valiant, the sickness might have equalled the calamity of the 26th regiment of Native Infantry, but the

casualties would no doubt have been fourfold. Whoever caused the cantoning of troops at Tatta has the heavy responsibility of all the suffering and all the mortality of the 26th regiment.

The removal of the 22nd regiment from Tatta to Sukkur in October saved that regiment from the same extent of suffering and extreme mortality: but even this regiment, so happily removed, was nearly disorganized by sickness; having had upwards of one thousand two hundred cases treated in hospital during a period in which an equally strong regiment at Kurachy had not three hundred. These are facts which speak for themselves, and require no comment; they may, I trust, operate to prevent the repetition of such injudicious measures in future.

On arriving at Kurachy, two sea-going vessels had been prepared for Colonel Scott and myself, and we were able to illustrate Arrian's narration of Alexander's visit to the western outlet of the Indus by our own experience. The storm and rain which had detained us at Tatta

had occurred at the full-moon springs, and our boats had been driven on shore, and Colonel Scott's was carried by the force of the storm at the highest hour of tide so far, that it was high and dry at a distance from low-water mark that would unquestionably puzzle the comprehension of a Mediterranean mariner. Colonel Scott was detained a few days at Kurachy in consequence, being obliged to wait for spring-tides ere the vessel could be floated again.

The harbour of Kurachy is protected from the sea and prevailing winds by a rocky promontory, rising about one hundred and fifty feet, and projecting about a mile and a half in length, and which may have been an island in the age of Alexander; the opening to the south-east is protected by several insulated rocks, which are the only islands now seen along the whole coast of Sind. It is a safe harbour and easily accessible, and the only valuable port as a naval station, and in a military or commercial view, north of Bombay. It is very much removed from the influence of the Indian

south-west monsoon, being betwixt the climate of India and Persia; and experiences so little rain, that a very few inches in the year may be considered an average fall. The dry sandy soil, the *débris* of the Sind rock, creates no malaria; and the refreshing sea-breezes mitigate the fierce temperature of a climate so seldom cooled by rain in 25° north, on the verge of the tropic.

The town of Kurachy will soon rise to a place of the greatest consideration. The expenditure of the British cantonment and the establishment of the communication betwixt Bombay, the Punjaub, and Kaubool, will bring wealth and population, and a few years will suffice to prove the incalculable importance of this position.

I embarked at night on the 29th of January, and weighing anchor at eight P. M. sailed for Bombay: the next morning found us within sight of the land-mark raised by our Government at the mouth of the Hujamry, the most important outlet of the Indus, last year, but which during one season has been closed like

the Garra Creek, and has now no river communication with Tatta or junction with the main stream; a single fact sufficiently demonstrative of the value of a harbour removed from the rapid changes of the outlets of the river. The 30th and 31st were spent on the coast of Sind; mild weather and light breezes and pleasant, though not rapid progress. On the morning of the 1st of February a brisk north-wester was taking me, as the sun rose, across the Gulf of Kutch, "the Kanthi of Ptolemy, the Eirinon of the Periplus." The promontory Barake is fixed at Dwarka by every authority, and in the varying sound of the letter I should find nothing unusual, even in our daily experience, to see Warka changed to Barka, at the mere caprice of the speaker: the peculiarities of the classic digamma have been attempted to be explained by the varying sound of one letter changing through B F W and V in the Sanscrit alphabet.

My voyage across the gulf almost realized the description of the Periplus. A stiff breeze blowing, and the tide rising, rolled in as much

of a sea as was agreeable to a landsman: we shot across the gulf, and made the southern coast at Barwalla, indifferently called Barwalla or Varwalla. The pagoda of Samiany was our first land-mark, and then Barwalla: the Isle of Bate, seen in the distance, has been, in our own time even, "infamous for pirates," whose irregularities were not finally suppressed till the capture of Bate in 1820.

At eleven o'clock the night-breeze moderated, and I was close to Dwarka: it was a beautiful night, and as placid a sea, and as soft a breeze as could have been desired for a landsman's summer sailing. My thoughts were in the years and with the friends of my youth, as I looked on the monumental pillar built at the extremity of the headland of Dwarka to my poor friend Marriott, who died of his wound received at the taking of Bate in December 1820, in his twenty-fifth year. A kind act, in bad taste, has put Marriott's pillar in juxtaposition with the vast masses of Hindoo architecture which cover this sacred spot, so that it is seen to disadvantage; whilst had it been in his native

village, Prestwick near Manchester, or a tablet in Bombay church, the poor fellow's memory would have been better honoured. He was a highly educated, high-minded young man, an honour to his profession, and lived beloved and died regretted by all who knew him.

I will turn a parting glance to the ancient descriptions. The Kanthi of Ptolemy for the Gulf of Kutch first led me to look for an outlet of the Indus here, the word being used through Guzerat as we affix "dale" to the name of a river to describe its valley or its vicinity: thus Mhye Kantha for the valley of the Mhye, and Rewa Kantha for the valley of the Nurbudda;—the Nurbudda running as it does nearly parallel to the tropic, and dividing the Dekkan (the south) from Hindoostan, is dedicated to the sun (Rewa), and is generally termed the Rewa or the Sun's River in Sanscrit. Thus Sind Kantha is distinctly the Indus valley.

The local tradition of the Run being within the past five centuries a navigable sea, confirmed my opinion that the Indus' current once rolled hither: even from Pautree, below Ra-

daupore, by Dundooka and Dolora to the Gulf of Cambay, the whole country is on so low a level that I have no doubt but that the Indus' waters have in remote antiquity occasionally, nay regularly, flowed across and insulated Kattywar as well as Kutch: even now I am inclined to believe that the occurrence of an unusual flood of the Indus, in conjunction with a heavy monsoon in Guzerat, would lay a line of country under water from Sind to the Gulf of Cambay.

Whoever fords the Run from Arrysir to Peepralla must be struck with the appearance of the two coasts, and the marks they exhibit of no very remote action of powerful currents of water; the headlands and bays precisely resemble the shores of an arm of the sea; and the celebrated stone found at Dookurwara, on the eastern extremity of the Run, called Sungi Urufi, or Lettered Stone, occurs also at Kurachy, and seems an Indus' deposit.

But there is a passage in Arrian which I cannot treat lightly, since we must despise our author for it if we leave it unremarked on. At the end of November, and in the 26th

degree north latitude, Nearchus is gravely made to say, that by standing out to sea from the coast of Mekraum he found the sun vertical!—an assertion which would destroy his authority throughout, and which cannot be acceded to; for there is nothing elsewhere of the wild improbability of gross fiction to be charged against him. Arrian is condensing the journal of Nearchus, and the only explanation I can give, since such a fact is positively and unequivocally asserted, is, that this passage alludes to the voyage out to sea made by Alexander when he reached the ocean in July; and, as no part of Sind is in the tropic, it follows that either this passage in question is an undignified falsehood, very unlikely from the character of the parties, or that Alexander's voyage of discovery down the eastern branch of the Indus extended through the Run to the Gulf of Kutch. I have preferred the latter, supposing that Arrian's description of the great lake or inland sea which Alexander sailed through concurs with the local traditions respecting the Run, in which I think there can be no doubt we have good ground on which

to defend the credit of our best author; but I shall weary my reader, and must therefore leave my conjecture to be corrected or confirmed by some sounder judgment, or fortunate discovery.

The voyage along the coast of Kattiwar during the 1st and 2nd of February was beyond measure agreeable. A soft, sweet, favouring breeze filled the sails; and the vessel glided over a smooth sea, about six knots an hour, within a mile of the shore, where mountains in the interior, and a perpetually varying coast studded with fine towns and wooded villages, showed good cause why Mahomed of Ghizni should come hither, and made it only wonderful that he ever returned.

Like Justice Shallow's estate in Warwickshire, the "marry good air" was all that Ghizni could boast of over Kattiwar. Even the Sultaun Bauber wonders that the sovereign of old time should have chosen such a place as Ghizni; but whoever has spent thirty years in India, and, like myself, eighteen of those in Guzerat, will not wonder at the taste that

preferred the climate and fruits of Ghizni to the barbaric pearl and gold of the gorgeous East.

On the evening of the 3rd of February I was close to Diu, and that night our course was directed south. The following day no land was in sight till evening, when lofty mountains, dimly seen through the haze, indicated Salsette. The fog on the morning of the 4th concealed the land; and, without a breath in the air, the sea was like a lake. We reached the fishing-stakes at Mahim, which, at five or six miles out at sea, are driven into the mud in six or seven fathoms' water. I counted from one line of these stakes no less than sixty-three boats; and, as each was manned by eight, ten, or more men,—and there are very many of these fishing stations,—some idea may be formed of the Bombay fisheries for a population on the island exceeding three hundred thousand.

At noon the sea-breeze sprang up, and, dissipating the haze, showed the old familiar scenes of the island of Bombay. My little bark

soon bounded over the dancing billows. At three o'clock we bore up to round the light-house and enter the harbour; at five o'clock I landed.

My heart swelled as I thought of all that I have seen and borne, since, a young adventurer on the sea of fortune, I landed on that spot in 1811:—the many better men than myself who are now no more, and by whose removal I have become what I am in my humble walk in life, but at the head of it,—the many friends whose place knows them no more, and all the chances and changes of twenty-nine years.

As respected the past year, I had marched with the Bombay division of the army of the Indus upwards of one thousand miles from the Hujamry to Kaubool, and upwards of seven hundred on the return from Kaubool to Sukkur Bukkur, where I was relieved on my promotion: and I may conclude by stating that the summary of the history of the nineteen hospitals of the force during the fourteen months from November 1st, 1838, to

December 31st, 1839, gives, in the European hospital, cases treated, 4648; deaths, 273; and in the native hospital, cases treated, 7041; deaths, 135;—which sufficiently indicates the hardships endured when compared with the strength of the division, and proves also that every branch of the hospital department was efficient.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

DECLARATION

of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, on the Assembly of the Army of the Indus.

Simla, October 1, 1838.

THE Right Honourable the Governor General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force, for service across the Indus, his Lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.

It is a matter of notoriety, that the treaties entered into by the British Government, in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sinde, the Nawab of Bahawulpore, and Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate

influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.

With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Affghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mahommed Khan, the Chief of Cabool. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabool, information was received by the Governor General, that the troops of Dost Mahommed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maha Raja Runjeet Singh. It was naturally to be apprehended that his Highness the Maha Raja would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British Government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes to intimate to Dost Mahommed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maha Raja, his Lordship would exert his good offices with his Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maha Raja, with the characteristic

confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor General to the effect that, in the mean time, hostilities on his part should be suspended.

It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor General, that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Affghanistan, for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the Court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of her Majesty's Mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain.

After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabool, it appeared that Dost Mahommed Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in urging the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor General could not consistently with justice, and his regard for the friendship of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his Highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers

of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs on Affghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprised, and by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British Government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabool without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

It was now evident, that no further interference could be exercised by the British Government to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mahommed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief showed too plainly that, so long as Cabool remained under his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian Empire would be preserved inviolate.

The Governor General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British Envoy at the Court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of

accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with a gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor General would yet indulge the hope, that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence until succours shall reach them from British India. In the mean time, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British Government, have been, by a succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor General has recently ascertained by an official despatch from Mr. M'Neil, her Majesty's Envoy, that his Excellency has been compelled, by the refusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian Government, to quit the Court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two Governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Affghanistan as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of her Majesty's Government.

The Chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mahommed Khan of Cabool) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat.

In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our Envoy from Cabool, the Governor General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories.

His attention was naturally drawn at this conjuncture to the position and claims of Shah Shoojaool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British Government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present ruler, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions.

It had been clearly ascertained from the information furnished by the various officers who have visited Affghanistan, that the Barukzye Chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British Government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence; yet so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interests and security, the British Government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our Western frontier an ally who is interested in resisting

aggression and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement.

After serious and mature deliberation, the Governor General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us in espousing the cause of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Affghanistan had been proved to his Lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no less from the position of Maha Raja Runjeet Singh, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British Government, that his Highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations. Mr. Macnaghten was accordingly deputed in June last to the Court of his Highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty by the British Government, the Maha Raja, and Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, whereby his Highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to cooperate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of

discussion between the British Government and his Highness the Maha Raja, the identity of whose interests with those of the Honourable Company has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Sinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British Government will gain their proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment.

His Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk will enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference, and factious opposition, by a British army. The Governor General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor General has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the

British Crown, but he rejoices that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Affghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences; to secure oblivion of injuries; and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Affghans have been impaired. Even to the Chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British Government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission, and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

NOTIFICATION.

With reference to the preceding declaration, the following appointments are made.

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to Government, will assume the functions of Envoy and Minister on the part of the Government of India at the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. Mr. Macnaghten will be assisted by the following officers.

Captain Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay Establishment, who will be employed under Mr. Macnaghten's directions as Envoy to the Chiefs of Khelat or other States.

Lieutenant E. D'Arcy Todd, of the Bengal Artillery, to be Political Assistant and Military Secretary to the Envoy and Minister.

Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery; Lieutenant R. Leech of the Bombay Engineers; Mr. P. B. Lord, of the Bombay Medical Establishment, to be Political Assistants to ditto ditto.

Lieutenant E. B. Conolly, of the 6th Regiment Bengal Cavalry, to command the escort of the Envoy and Minister, and to be Military Assistant to ditto ditto.

Mr. G. J. Berwick, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, to be Surgeon to ditto ditto.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN.

No. II.

KURACHY.

Secret Department.

J. T. WILLOUGHBY ESQ. SEC. TO GOV. BOMBAY.

Camp Delhi, 18th Feb. 1839.

SIR,—I am directed by the R. H. the Governor General of India to acknowledge the receipt of your

two despatches, No. 305 and 306, dated the 6th inst., and in reply to state that the prompt and effectual measures taken for reducing Kurachy appear to have been conducted in a manner such as to ensure success.

The forbearance both before and after the exertion of force evinced by his Excellency the Admiral and Brigadier Valiant, will not, his Lordship is convinced, have a less valuable moral effect as regards our influence in the country, than will the exhibition of the power and resources of the English in so quickly reducing the place, in discouraging vain opposition and a useless resort to arms.

The Governor General has had much gratification in the perusal of the despatches enclosed by you.

(Signed) T. W. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

No. III.

CANDAHAR.

General Orders by his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. G.C.H., commanding the Army of the Indus.

Head-quarters, Camp Candahar, May 4th, 1839.

The combined forces of Bengal and Bombay being now assembled at Candahar, the Commander-in-chief congratulates all ranks on the triumphant, though arduous march, which they have accomplished, from

distant and distinct parts of India, with a regularity and discipline which is much appreciated by him, and reflects upon themselves the highest credit. The difficulties which have been surmounted have been of no ordinary nature, and the recollection of what has been overcome must hereafter be a pleasing reflection to those concerned, who have so zealously, and in so soldier-like a manner, contributed to effect them, so as to arrive at the desired end. The Engineers had to make roads, and, occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain-passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science and much severe labour; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertions and good spirit of the Artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both European and Native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance that each man was working for a favourite object of his own.

2.—His Excellency shares in the satisfaction which those troops must feel, (after the difficult task they have accomplished, and the trying circumstances under which they have been placed, the nature of which is well known to themselves, and therefore unnecessary for him to detail,) at knowing the enthusiasm with which the population of Candahar have

received and welcomed the return of their lawful sovereign, Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, to the throne of his ancestors in Affghanistan. Sir John Keane will not fail to report to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, his admiration of the conduct and discipline of the troops, by which means it has been easy to effect, and to fulfil the plans of his Lordship in the operations of the campaign hitherto.

3.—The Commander-in-chief has already, in a General Order dated the 6th ultimo, expressed his acknowledgment to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, for the creditable and judicious manner in which he conducted the Bengal column to the valley of Shawl. His Excellency has now a pleasing duty to perform, in requesting Major-General Willshire, commanding the Bombay column, to accept his best thanks for his successful exertions in bringing the troops of that Presidency to this ground in the most efficient and soldier-like state.

4.—The Commander-in-chief entertains a confident expectation that the same orderly conduct which has gained for the troops the good-will of the inhabitants of the states and countries through which they have passed, will continue to be observed by them during their advance upon Cabool, when the proper time for the adoption of that step shall have been decided upon by his Excellency, in concert with his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the Envoy and Minister,

W. H. Macnaghten, Esquire, representing British interests at the Court of the King of Affghanistan.

May 5.

On the occasion of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk taking possession of his throne, and receiving the homage of his people of Candahar, the following ceremonial will be observed:—

The whole of the troops now at head-quarters will be formed in order of review at daylight on the morning of the 8th inst., on ground which will be pointed out to Assistant Adjutants-General of Divisions to-morrow afternoon at five o'clock, by the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army.

The troops will take up their ground in the following order from the right.

Bengal.—Horse Artillery, Cavalry Brigade, Camel Battery, 1st Brigade of Infantry, 4th Brigade of Infantry.

Bombay.—Horse Artillery, Cavalry Brigade, Infantry Brigade.

The 4th Local Horse will take up a position in front of the right flank, and the Poona Auxiliary Horse in front of the left flank, for the purpose of keeping the space in advance of the troops clear of the populace.

A platform will be erected for his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk in front of the centre of the line, on either flank of which detachments of his Majesty's

cavalry will take post to prevent the intrusion of the populace.

Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay Artillery will be stationed at the Edgah gate of the town, and will fire a royal salute as his Majesty passes.

The troops of his Majesty Shah Shooja will be drawn up in street in the most convenient situation, between the gate and the British army, and will salute his Majesty as he passes. The King's artillery will be formed near the palace, and will fire a royal salute on the departure and return of his Majesty.

On his Majesty approaching the platform, a royal salute is to be fired from one of the batteries in the line; and on his appearing in front of the troops, he will be received with a general salute from the whole line, the colours being lowered in the manner that is usual to crowned heads; and as soon as the infantry have shouldered arms, 101 guns are to be fired from the batteries in line under directions from Brigadier Stevenson.

The Envoy and Minister, and officers attached to the mission, the Commander-in-chief and his personal staff, and the officers at the heads of departments, and Affghan Sirdars, are to be stationed on the right of the throne, Syuds and Moollahs on the left, the populace on both sides and rear of the Shah, restrained by his Majesty's cavalry, 4th Local Horse, and Poona Auxiliary Horse.

The Envoy and the Commander-in-chief will present nuzzurs, as representatives of Government.

The officers of the Shah's force will also present nuzzurs, leaving their troops for that purpose after the Shah has passed, and returning to receive his Majesty.

The Shah's subjects will then present nuzzurs. At the close of the ceremony, the troops will march past, the cavalry in columns of squadrons, the infantry in columns of companies, in slow time; the columns will move up to the wheeling point in quick time. The columns having passed, will continue their route towards the encampment, the 4th Brigade of Bengal Infantry moving on to the Cabool gateway, at which his Majesty will enter the city, where it will form a street, and salute his Majesty as he passes.

The troops are to appear in white trousers, the officers of the general staff in blue trousers and gold lace.

Corps will parade on the occasion as strong as possible, and the encampments will be protected by the convalescents, and by quarter and rear-guards; such extra guards as may be considered essentially necessary, to be placed over treasure, at the discretion of Brigadiers commanding brigades.

Officers commanding divisions are to be supplied with field states, showing the actual number of troops there are under arms in their respective commands, to be delivered when called for.

His Majesty having expressed a wish that his Excellency the Commander-in-chief should be near his person during the ceremony, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton will command the troops in line.

May 8.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane has received the gracious commands of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk to convey to Major-General Willshire, commanding in the field, to the Generals and other officers, and the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were present and assisted at the splendid spectacle of the King taking possession of his throne this day, the deep sense his Majesty entertains of the obligations he owes to them and to the British nation. The King added, that he would request W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., Envoy and Minister at his Majesty's Court, to convey these his sentiments to the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, Governor General of India.

No. IV.

GHIZNI.

General Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

Secret Department.

Simla, 18th August, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor General of India has great gratification in publishing for general

information, a copy of a Report this day received from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K. C. B., Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, announcing the capture by storm, on the 23rd ultimo, of the important fortress of Ghuznee.

A salute of twenty-one guns will be fired on the receipt of this intelligence at all the principal stations of the army in the three Presidencies.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Head-Quarters, Camp Ghuznee, 24th July, 1839.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AUCKLAND, G. C. B. &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the army under my command have succeeded in performing one of the most brilliant acts it has ever been my lot to witness, during my service of forty-five years in the four quarters of the globe, in the capture by storm of the strong and important fortress and citadel of Ghuznee yesterday.

It is not only that the Affghan nation, and I understand Asia generally, have looked upon it as impregnable, but it is in reality a place of great strength both by nature and art, far more so than I had reason to suppose, from any description that I

received of it, although some are from officers in our own service, who had seen it in their travels.

I was surprised to find a high rampart in good repair,* built on a scarped mound, about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse braye and a wet ditch, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills from the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this screen, walls had been built before the gates, the ditch was filled with water and unfordable, and an outwork built on the right bank of the river, so as to command the bed of it.

It is, therefore, the more honourable to the troops, and must appear to the enemy out of all calculation extraordinary, that a fortress and citadel, to the strength of which for the last thirty years they had been adding something each year, and which had a garrison of 3500 Affghan soldiers, commanded by Prince Mahommed Hyder, the son of Dost Mahommed Khan, the ruler of the country, with a commanding number of guns and abundance of ammunition, and other stores, provisions, &c. for a regular siege, should have been taken by British science, and British valour, in less than two hours from the time the attack was made, and the whole, including the Governor and garrison should fall into our hands.

* See Captain Thomson's Report, page 266.

My despatch of the 20th instant from Nanee, will have made known to your Lordship, that the camps of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and of Major-General Willshire with the Bombay troops, had there joined me in accordance with my desire; and the following morning we made our march of twelve miles to Ghuznee: the line of march being over a fine plain, the troops were disposed in a manner that would have enabled me at any moment, had we been attacked, as was probable, from the large bodies of troops moving on each side of us, to have placed them in position to receive the enemy. They did not, however, appear; but on our coming within range of the guns of the citadel and fortress of Ghuznee, a sharp cannonade was opened on our leading column, together with a heavy fire of musketry from behind garden walls and temporary field works thrown up, as well as the strong outwork I have already alluded to, which commanded the bed of the river. From all but the outwork, the enemy were driven in, under the walls of the fort, in a spirited manner, by parties thrown forward by Major-General Sir W. Cotton, of the 16th and 48th Bengal Native Infantry, and her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry under Brigadier Sale. I ordered forward three troops of horse artillery, the camel battery, and one foot battery to open upon the citadel and fortress by throwing shrapnell shells, which was done in a masterly style, under the direction of Brigadier

Stevenson. My object in this was to make the enemy show their strength in guns and in other respects, which completely succeeded, and our shells must have done great execution and occasioned great consternation. Being perfectly satisfied on the point of their strength in the course of half an hour, I ordered the fire to cease, and placed the troops in bivouac. A close reconnoisance of the place all round was then undertaken by Captain Thomson, the Chief Engineer, and Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, accompanied by Major Garden, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army, supported by a strong party of H. M.'s 16th Lancers, and one from H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry. On this party a steady fire was kept up, and some casualties occurred. Captain Thomson's report was very clear, (he found the fortifications equally strong all round,) and as my own opinion coincided with his, I did not hesitate a moment as to the manner in which our approach and attack upon the place should be made. Notwithstanding the march the troops had performed in the morning, and their having been a considerable time engaged with the enemy, I ordered the whole to move across the river (which runs close under the fort walls) in columns to the right and left of the town, and they were placed in position on the north side, on more commanding ground, and securing the Cabool road. I had information that a night attack upon the camp was intended from without. Mahom-

med Ubzel Khan, the eldest son of Dost Mahommed Khan, had been sent by his father with a strong body of troops from Cabool, to the brother's assistance at Ghuznee, and was encamped outside the walls, but abandoned his position on our approach, keeping, however, at the distance of a few miles from us. The two rebel chiefs of the Ghiljee tribe, men of great influence, viz., Abdool Ruhman Khan, and Gool Mahommed Khan, had joined him with 1500 horse, and also a body of about 3000 Ghuznee, from Zeinat, under a mixture of Chiefs and Moollahs, carrying banners, and who had been assembled on the cry of a religious war; in short, we were in all directions surrounded by enemies. These last actually came down the hills on the 22nd, and attacked the part of the camp occupied by his Majesty Shah Shooja and his troops, but were driven back with considerable loss, and banners taken.

At day-light on the 22nd, I reconnoitred Ghuznee, in company with the Chief Engineer and the Brigadier commanding the Artillery, with the Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army, for the purpose of making all arrangements for carrying the place by storm, and these were completed in the course of the day. Instead of the tedious process of breaching (for which we were ill-prepared), Captain Thomson undertook, with the assistance of Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, Lieutenants Durand and Macleod of the Bengal Engineers, and

other officers under him (Captain Thomson), to blow in the Cabool gate (the weakest point) with gunpowder; and so much faith did I place on the success of this operation, that my plans for the assault were immediately laid down, and the orders given.

The different troops of horse artillery, the camel and foot batteries, moved off their ground at twelve o'clock that night without the slightest noise, as had been directed, and in the most correct manner took up the position assigned them, about two hundred and fifty yards from the walls. In like manner, and with the same silence, the infantry soon after moved from the ground, and all were at the post at the proper time. A few minutes before three o'clock in the morning, the explosion took place, and was completely successful. Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers was thrown down and stunned by it, but shortly after recovered his senses and feeling. On hearing the advance sounded by the bugles (being the signal for the gate having been blown in), the artillery under the able directions of Brigadier Stevenson, consisting of Captain Grant's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the Camel Battery under Captain Abbot, both superintended by Major Pew, Captains Martin and Cotgrave's troops of Bombay Horse Artillery, and Captain Lloyd's battery of Bombay Foot Artillery, all opened a terrific fire upon the citadel and ramparts of the fort, and in a certain degree paralyzed the

Under the guidance of Captain Thomson of the Bengal Engineers, the chief of the department, Colonel Dennie of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, commanding the advance consisting of the light companies of H. M.'s 2nd and 17th foot, and of the Bengal European regiment, with one company of H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, proceeded to the gate, and with great difficulty, from the rubbish thrown down, and the determined opposition offered by the enemy, effected an entrance, and established themselves within the gateway, closely followed by the main column, led in a spirit of great gallantry by Brigadier Sale, to whom I had entrusted the important post of commanding the storming party, consisting (with the advance abovementioned) of H. M.'s 2nd Foot under Major Carruthers, the Bengal European regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, followed by H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry under Major Tronson, and H. M.'s 17th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker. The struggle within the fort was desperate for a considerable time. In addition to the heavy fire kept up, our troops were assailed by the enemy sword in hand, and with daggers, pistols, &c.; but British courage, perseverance and fortitude overcame all opposition, and the fire of the enemy in the lower area of the fort being nearly silenced, Brigadier Sale turned towards the citadel, from which could now be seen men abandoning the

guns, running in all directions, throwing themselves down from immense heights, endeavouring to make their escape; and on reaching the gate with her Majesty's 17th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Croker, followed by the 13th, forced it open,—at five o'clock in the morning the colours of her Majesty's 13th and 17th were planted on the citadel of Ghuznee, amidst the cheers of all ranks. Instant protection was granted to the women found in the citadel (among whom were those of Mahommed Hyder the Governor), and sentries placed over the magazine for its security. Brigadier Sale reports having received much assistance from Captain Kershaw of her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry throughout the whole of the service of the storming.

Major-General Sir W. Cotton executed in a manner much to my satisfaction the orders he had received. The Major-General followed closely the assaulting party into the fort, with the reserve, namely, Brigadier Roberts with the only available regiment of his Brigade the 35th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monteath; part of Brigadier Sale's Brigade, the 16th Native Infantry under Major Maclaren, and the 48th Native Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler; and they immediately occupied the ramparts, putting down opposition whenever they met any, and making prisoners until the place was completely in our possession. A desultory fire was kept up in the town long after the citadel

was in our hands, from those who had taken shelter in houses, and in desperation kept firing on all that approached them. In this way several of our men were wounded and some killed, but the aggressors paid dearly for their bad conduct in not surrendering when the place was completely ours. I must not omit to mention that three companies of the 35th Native Infantry under Captain Hay, ordered to the south side of the fort to begin with a false attack to attract attention to that side, performed that service at the proper time and greatly to my satisfaction.

As we were threatened with an attack for the relief of the garrison, I ordered the 19th Bombay Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stalker, to guard the Cabool road, and to be in support of the Cavalry Division. This might have proved an important position to occupy, but as it was, no enemy appeared.

The Cavalry Division, under Major-General Thackwell, in addition to watching the approach of an enemy, had directions to surround Ghuznee, and to sweep the plain, preventing the escape of runaways from the garrison. Brigadier Arnold's Brigade, (the Brigadier himself, I deeply regret to say, was labouring under very severe illness, having shortly before burst a blood-vessel internally, which rendered it wholly impossible for him to mount a horse that day,) consisting of her Majesty's 16th Lancers under Lieutenant-Colonel Persse, (momenta-

rily commanding the Brigade, and Major MacDowell the junior Major of the regiment, the senior Major of the 16th Lancers, Major Cureton, an officer of great merit, being actively engaged in the execution of his duties as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Cavalry Division,) the 2nd Cavalry under Major Salter, and the 3rd under Lieutenant Colonel Smyth, were ordered to watch the south and west sides. Brigadier Scott's Brigade was placed on the Cabool road, consisting of her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons under Major Daly, and of the 1st Bombay Cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Sandwith, to watch the north and east sides. This duty was performed in a manner greatly to my satisfaction.

After the storming, and that quiet was in some degree restored within, I conducted his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the British Envoy and Minister, Mr. Macnaghten, round the citadel, and a great part of the fortress. The King was perfectly astonished at our having made ourselves masters of a place conceived to be impregnable when defended, in the short space of two hours, and in less than forty-eight hours after we came before it. His Majesty was of course greatly delighted at the result, when I afterwards, in the course of the day, took Mahommed Hyder Khan, the Governor, first to the British Minister and then to the King, to make his submission. I informed his Majesty, that I made a promise that his life should not be touched, and the King in

very handsome terms assented, and informed Mahommed Hyder in my presence, that although he and his family had been rebels, yet he was willing to forget and forgive all.

Prince Mahommed Hyder, the Governor of Ghuznee, is a prisoner of war in my camp, and under the surveillance of Sir Alexander Burnes — an arrangement very agreeable to the former.

From Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, commanding the 1st Native Infantry Division (of the Bengal Army), I have invariably received the strongest support, and on this occasion his exertions were manifest in support of the honour of the profession and of our country.

I have likewise at all times received able assistance from Major-General Willshire, commanding the 2nd Infantry Division (of the Bombay Army), which it was found expedient on that day to break up, some for the storming party and some for other duties; the Major-General, as directed, was in attendance upon myself.

To Brigadier Sale I feel deeply indebted, for the gallant and soldier-like manner in which he conducted the responsible and arduous duty entrusted to him in command of the storming party, and for the arrangements he made in the citadel, immediately after taking possession of it. The sabre wound which he received in the face did not prevent his continuing to direct his column, until everything was secure,

and I am happy in the opportunity of bringing to your Lordship's notice the excellent conduct of Brigadier Sale on this occasion.

Brigadier Stevenson, in command of the Artillery, was all I could wish, and he reports that Brigade Majors Backhouse and Coghlan ably assisted him; his arrangements were good, and the execution done by the arm he commands was such as cannot be forgotten by those of the enemy who have witnessed and survived it.

To Brigadier Roberts, to Colonel Dennie (who commanded the advance), and to the different officers commanding regiments already mentioned, as well as to the other officers and gallant soldiers under them, who so nobly maintained the honour and reputation of our country, my best acknowledgments are due.

To Captain Thomson of the Bengal Engineers, the chief of the department with me, much of the credit of the success of this brilliant *coup-de-main* is due. A place of the same strength, and by such simple means as this highly talented and scientific officer recommended to be tried, has perhaps never before been taken, and I feel I cannot do sufficient justice to Captain Thomson's merits for his conduct throughout. In the execution, he was ably supported by the officers already mentioned, and so eager were the other officers of the Engineers of both Presidencies for the honour of carrying the powder-bags, that the point could only be decided by seniority,

which shows the fine feeling by which they are animated.

I must now inform your Lordship, that since I joined the Bengal Column in the valley of Shawl, I have continued my march with it in the advance, and it has been my good fortune to have had the assistance of two most efficient staff-officers in Major Craigie, Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Garden, Deputy Quartermaster-General. It is but justice to those officers, that I should state to your Lordship, the high satisfaction I have derived from the manner in which all their duties have been performed up to this day, and that I look upon them as promising officers, to fill the higher ranks. To the other officers of both departments I am also much indebted for the correct performance of all duties appertaining to their situations.

To Major Keith, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Campbell, the Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, and to all the other officers of both departments under them, my acknowledgments are also due, for the manner in which their duties have been performed during this campaign.

Captain Alexander, commanding the 4th Bengal Local Horse, and Major Cunningham, commanding the Poona Auxiliary Horse, with the men under their orders, have been of essential service to the army in this campaign.

The arrangements made by Superintending Surgeons Kennedy and Atkinson, previous to the storming, for affording assistance and comfort to the wounded, met with my approval.

Major Parsons, the Deputy Commissary-General in charge of the department in the field, has been unremitting in his attention to keep the troops supplied, although much difficulty is experienced, and he is occasionally thwarted by the nature of the country and its inhabitants.

I have, throughout this service, received the utmost assistance I could desire from Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, my officiating Military Secretary, and Deputy Adjutant-General of her Majesty's forces, Bombay, from Captain Powell, my Persian Interpreter, and the other officers of my personal staff. The nature of the country in which we are serving prevents the possibility of my sending a single staff-officer to deliver this to your Lordship; otherwise, I should have asked my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Keane, to proceed to Simla to deliver this despatch into your hands, and to have afforded any further information that your Lordship could have desired.

The brilliant triumph we have obtained, the cool courage displayed, and the gallant bearing of the troops I have the honour to command, will have taught such a lesson to our enemies in the Affghan nation, as will make them hereafter respect the name of a British soldier.

Our loss is wonderfully small, considering the occasion; the casualties in killed and wounded amount to about 200.

The loss of the enemy is immense; we have already buried of their dead nearly 500, together with an immense number of horses.

I enclose a list of the killed, wounded, and missing. I am happy to say, that although the wounds of some of the officers are severe, they are all doing well.

It is my intention, after selecting a garrison for this place, and establishing a general hospital, to continue my march to Cabool forthwith.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE, Lieut.-Gen.

List of killed, wounded, and missing, in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, before Ghuznee, on the 21st July, 1839.

2nd Troop Bengal Horse Artillery, three horses wounded.

3rd Bombay do. do. two rank and file, two horses, wounded.

4th Bombay do. do. one horse killed.

2nd Regiment Bengal Cavalry, one horse killed, one rank and file wounded.

4th Bengal Local Horse, one rank and file and one horse missing.

Her Majesty's 3rd Light Infantry, one rank and file killed.

16th Bengal Native Infantry, one captain wounded.

48th Bengal do. do. one lieutenant and two rank and file wounded.

Total killed, one rank and file and two horses.

Total wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, five rank and file, and six horses.

Total missing, one rank and file, and one horse.

Names of Officers wounded.

Captain Graves, 16th Bengal Native Infantry, severely.

Lieutenant Vanhomrigh, 48th Bengal Native Infantry, slightly.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M.'s Forces, Bombay.

List of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., in the assault and capture of the Fortress and Citadel of Ghuznee, on the 23rd July, 1839.

General Staff, one colonel, one major, wounded.

3rd Troop Bombay Horse Artillery, one rank and file wounded.

4th do. do. do. one rank and file and one horse wounded.

Bengal Engineers, three rank and file killed, two rank and file wounded, one rank and file missing.

Bombay Engineers, one lieutenant, one rank and file, wounded.

2nd Bengal Light Cavalry, one rank and file wounded.

1st Bombay Light Cavalry, one havildar killed; five rank and file, and seven horses, wounded.

Her Majesty's 2nd Foot (or Queen's Royals), four rank and file killed; two captains, four lieutenants, one sergeant, and 26 rank and file, wounded.

Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, one rank and file killed; three sergeants and 27 rank and file wounded.

Her Majesty's 17th Foot, six rank and file wounded.

Bengal European Regiment, one rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, one major, two captains, four lieutenants, one ensign, one sergeant, 51 rank and file, wounded.

16th Bengal Native Infantry, one havildar, six rank and file, wounded.

35th do. do. five rank and file killed; one havildar, eight rank and file, wounded.

48th do. do. two havildars killed; five rank and file wounded.

Total killed, three sergeants or havildars, fourteen rank and file.

Total wounded, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, four captains, eight lieutenants, two ensigns, seven sergeants or havildars, 140 rank and file, eight horses.

Total missing, one rank and file.

Grand total on the 21st and 23rd of July, killed, wounded, and missing, 191 officers and men, and 15 horses.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M.'s Forces, Bombay.

Names of Officers wounded.

General Staff.—Brigadier Sale, her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, slightly; Major Parsons, Deputy Commissary-General, slightly.

Bombay Engineers, 2nd Lieutenant Marriott, slightly.

Her Majesty's 2nd (or Queen's Royals).—Captain Raitt, slightly; Captain Robinson, severely; Lieutenant Yonge, do.; Lieutenant Stisted, slightly; Adjutant Simons, do.; Quartermaster Hadley, do.

Bengal European Regiment.—Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, slightly; Major Warren, severely; Captain Hay, slightly; Captain Taylor, do.; Lieutenant Broadfoot, slightly; Lieutenant Haslewood, severely; Lieutenant Fagan, slightly; Lieutenant Magnay, do.; Ensign Jacob, do.

(Signed) R. MACDONALD, Lt.-Col.
Mil. Sec. and Dep. Adjt.-Gen. H. M's Forces, Bombay.

(True Copies.)

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Memoranda of the Engineers' operations before Ghuznee, in July 1839, by Captains Thomson and Peat.

The accounts of the fortress of Ghuznee, received from those who had seen it, were such as to induce his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to leave in Kandahar the very small battering train then with the army, there being a scarcity of transport cattle. The place was described as very weak, and completely commanded from a range of hills to the north.

When we came before it on the morning of the 21st July, we were very much surprised to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a fausse-braye and wet ditch. The irregular figure of the "enceinte" gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this, the towers, at the angles, had been enlarged, screen-walls had been built before the gates, the ditch cleared out and filled with water, stated to be unfordable, and an outwork built on the right bank of the river so as to command the bed of it.

The garrison was variously stated from three to four thousand strong, including five hundred cavalry,

and from subsequent information we found that it had not been overrated.

On the approach of the army, a fire of artillery was opened from the body of the place, and of musketry from the neighbouring gardens. A detachment of infantry cleared the latter, and the former was silenced for a short time by shrapnells from the horse artillery; but the fire from the new outwork on the bank of the river was in no way checked. A nearer view of the works was, however, obtained from the gardens which had been cleared. This was not at all satisfactory. The works were evidently much stronger than we had been led to expect, and such as our army could not venture to attack in a regular manner. We had no battering train, and to besiege Ghuznee in form, a much larger one would be required than the army ever possessed. The great command of the parapets from sixty to seventy feet, with the wet ditch, were unsurmountable obstacles to an attack, either by mining or escalading.

It therefore became necessary to examine closely the whole "contour" of the place, to discover if any other mode of attack could be adopted. The Engineers, with an escort, went round the works, approaching as near as they could find cover. The garrison were on the alert, and kept up a hot and well-regulated fire upon the officers, whenever they were obliged to show themselves. However, by

keeping the infantry beyond musket range, and the cavalry at a still greater distance, only one man was killed, and another wounded; the former being hit by men sent out of the place to drive off the reconnoitring party.

The fortifications were found equally strong all round, the only tangible point observed being the Cabool gateway, which offered the following advantages for a *coup-de-main* :—The road to the gate was clear, the bridge over the ditch unbroken, there were good positions for the artillery within three hundred yards of the walls on both sides of the road, and we had information that the gateway was not built up, a reinforcement from Cabool being expected.

The result of this reconnoissance was a report to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that if he decided upon the immediate attack of Ghuznee, the only feasible mode of proceeding, and the only one which held out a prospect of success, was a dash at the Cabool gateway, blowing the gate open by bags of powder.

His Excellency decided upon the attempt; the camp was moved that evening to the Cabool road, and the next morning, the 22nd, Sir John Keane, in person, reconnoitred the proposed point of attack, approved of the plan, and gave orders for its execution. Preparations were made accordingly, positions for the artillery were carefully examined, which

excited the jealousy of the garrison, who opened a smart fire upon the party.

It was arranged that an explosion party, consisting of three officers of Engineers, Captain Peat, Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, three sergeants, and eighteen men of the sappers in working dresses, carrying 500 lbs. of powder in twelve sand-bags, with a hose seventy-two feet long, should be ready to move down to the gateway at daybreak.

At midnight the first battery left camp, followed by the other four at intervals of half an hour. Those to the right of the road were conducted to their positions by Lieutenant Stuart, those to the left by Lieutenant Anderson. The ground for the guns was prepared by the sappers and pioneers, taking advantage of the irregularities of the ground to the right, and of some old garden walls to the left.

The artillery was all in position, and ready by three A. M. of the 23rd, and shortly after, at the first dawn, the party under Captain Peat moved down to the gateway, accompanied by six men of her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, without their belts, and supported by a detachment of the same regiment, which extended to the right and left of the road, when they arrived at the ditch, taking advantage of what cover they could find, and endeavouring to keep down the fire from the ramparts, which became heavy on the approach of the party, though it had been remarkably slack during the previous operations. Blue lights

were shown which rendered surrounding objects distinctly visible, but luckily they were burned on the top of the parapet instead of being thrown into the passage below.

The explosion party marched steadily on, headed by Lieutenant Durand; the powder was placed, the hose laid, the train fired, and the carrying party had retired to tolerable cover in less than two minutes. The artillery opened when the blue lights appeared, and the musketry from the covering party at the same time. So quickly was the operation performed, and so little was the enemy aware of the nature of it, that not a man of the party was hurt.

As soon as the explosion took place, Captain Peat, although hurt by the concussion, his anxiety preventing him from keeping sufficiently under cover, ran up to the gate, accompanied by a small party of her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, and ascertained that it was completely destroyed. There was some delay in getting a bugler to sound at the advance the signal agreed on for the assaulting column to push on, and this was the only mistake in the operation.

The assaulting column, consisting of four European regiments (her Majesty's 2nd Regiment, Bengal European Regiment, her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, and her Majesty's 12th Regiment,) commanded by Brigadier Sale, the advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, accompanied by Lieutenant Stuart, Engineers, moved steadily through the gate-

way, through a passage inside the gateway, in a domed building, which opening on one side rendered everything very obscure, and rendered it difficult to find the outlet into the town. They met with little opposition; but a party of the enemy seeing a peak in the column, owing to the difficulty in scrambling over the rubbish in the gateway, made a rush, sword-in-hand, and cut down a good many men, wounding the Brigadier and several other officers. These swordsmen were repulsed, and there was no more regular opposition; the surprise and alarm of the Governor and Sirdars being so great when they saw the column occupying the open space inside the gate and firing upon them, that they fled, accompanied by their men; even the garrison of the citadel following their example. Parties of the Affghans took refuge in the houses, firing on the column as it made its way through the streets, and a good deal of desultory fighting took place in consequence; day-light showed that it had been abandoned by the enemy, and the whole of the works were in our possession before five A. M.

We lost seventeen men, six Europeans and eleven Natives killed; eighteen Officers and a hundred and seventeen Europeans and thirty Natives wounded; total one hundred and eighty-two. Of the Affghans more than five hundred and fourteen were killed in the town, that number of bodies having been buried, and about one hundred outside by the cavalry: 1600

prisoners were taken, but I have no means of estimating the number of wounded.

There were nine guns of different calibres found in the place, a large quantity of good powder, considerable stores of shot, lead, &c. &c. and a large supply of atta and other provisions.

(Signed) GEO. THOMSON, Capt. Engrs.
Chief Engr. Army of the Indus.

During the reconnoissance the wall pieces were particularly troublesome. This weapon is almost unknown in our service, but it is a very efficient one, especially in the defence of works, and its use should not be neglected. Every fortified post should be supplied with a proportion of them, and a certain number of men in every regiment practised in firing them.

The charge recommended by Colonel Pasley, for blowing open gates, is from 60 to 120 lbs. and this is doubtless sufficient in ordinary cases; but in this instance we were apprehensive that the enemy might have taken alarm at our being so much on that side of the place, and, in consequence, partially or wholly built up the gateway. It was afterwards found that some attempts of the kind had been made by propping up the gate with beams.

The charge was so heavy, that it not only destroyed the gate, but brought down a considerable portion of the roof of the square building in which

it was placed, which proved a very considerable obstacle to the assaulting column, and the concussion acted as far as the tower A, under which an officer's party of her Majesty's 13th Regiment were standing at the time, but without occasioning any casualties. In cases of this nature it is of course the first object to guard against any chance of failure, and it is impossible even now to say how much the charge might have been reduced with safety.

The enemy appeared so much on the alert, and the fausse-braye was so much in advance of the gate, that we never contemplated being able to effect our object by surprise. The only question was whether it ought to be done by day or night. It was argued in favour of the former, that the artillery would be able to make so much more correct practice, that the defences would be in a considerable degree destroyed, and the fire so completely kept under as to enable the explosion party to advance with but little loss, and with the advantage of being able to see exactly what they were about. Captain Thomson, however, adhered to the latter, and we were afterwards convinced it was the most judicious plan; for although the fire of the artillery was necessarily more general than it would have been in daylight, still it was so well directed as to take up a good deal of the attention of the besieged and draw upon their batteries a portion of the fire which in daylight would have been thrown upon the explosion party and as-

saulting columns. It would also even in daylight have been difficult with our light artillery to have kept down the fire so completely but that a few matchlock men might have kept their position near the gateway, and in that narrow space a smart fire from a few pieces might have obliged the party to retire. The obscurity of the night, to say nothing of the confusion which it must occasion among undisciplined troops, is certainly the best protection to a body of men engaged in an enterprise of this nature. Blue lights certainly render objects distinctly visible, but their light is glaring and uncertain, especially to men firing through loop-holes.

The party of her Majesty's 13th consisted of eighteen officers, twenty-eight sergeants, seven buglers, two hundred and seventy-six rank and file.

It was made of this strength not only to keep up a heavy fire upon the parapets and thereby divert attention from the party at the gateway, but also because we were not aware whether the fausse-braye was occupied or not, and as it extends so much in advance as to take the gate completely in reverse, it would have been necessary, had a fire opened from it, to have carried it by assault before the party with the bags could have advanced. The party with Lieutenant Durand was accompanied by six men of the 13th without their belts, the better to secure them from observation, to protect them from any sortie that might be made from the postern B, of the fausse-

braye on the right, or even from the gate itself; while another party under an officer, Lieutenant Jennings, accompanied me as far as the tower A, so as to check any attempts that might have been made from the fausse-braye on the left, and at the same time keeping up a fire on such of the enemy as showed their heads above the parapet; of this party one man was killed and a few wounded.

Nothing could have been more gallant than the conduct of Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, and the men under their command, or more efficient than the manner in which they executed their duty.

The powder being in sand-bags, of a very coarse open texture, a long hose and port-fire was thought to be the safest method of firing it. The end of the hose fortunately just reached the small postern B. The casualties during this operation were much fewer than was expected, being in all one private killed, two sergeants and twenty-three rank and file wounded.

The heaviest fire was certainly outside the bridge, for the enemy near the gateway being marked whenever they attempted to show their heads above the parapet, were obliged to confine themselves to the loop-holes, the range from which is very uncertain and limited against men moving about. A high loop-holed wall, although imposing in appearance, is a profile but ill adapted to resist attacks of this nature.

The enemy were perfectly aware that we were in the gateway, but appeared to have no idea of the nature of our operations. Had they been so they might easily have rendered it impossible to place the powder-bags, by throwing over blue lights, of which they had a large quantity in store. The powder-pots and other fire-works, so much used by the natives of Hindoostan, would certainly have rendered the confined space leading to the gate much too hot for such an operation: but the ignorance of the besieged was known and calculated upon; the result shows how justly.

Their attempts at resistance were confined to the fire from the loop-holes, and throwing over large pieces of earth, some of which appeared to be intended to knock off the port-fire.

I on this occasion received an excellent lesson on the necessity of not allowing preconceived opinions to lead to any carelessness, in accurately ascertaining the result of any operation of this nature. The gateway appeared, from what I had seen from the hills to the north, to lead straight into the town, and on running in to examine it after the explosion, I was so much impressed with this idea, and so much convinced of the probability of the gateway having been blocked up during the day, that I was led to believe that it had actually been done from seeing in front of the gate that had been destroyed, the outline of an arch filled up with brick masonry. The true entrance turned to the right, and would have been

discovered by advancing a few paces, and that in perfect safety, for the interior was secure from all fire. Lieutenant Durand, on first going up, saw from through the chinks of the gate that there was a light and a guard immediately behind it, and from that circumstance was convinced that no interior obstacles of importance existed.

My mistake therefore was, luckily, immediately corrected without any bad consequence resulting.

A party of Sappers with felling axes, and commanded by Lieutenant Wemyss, and two scaling ladders in charge of Lieutenant Pigan, accompanied the assaulting column.

Of ten Engineer Officers engaged in this attack, only one, Lieutenant Marriot, was slightly wounded. Captain Thomson, however, had a very narrow escape, having been thrown down by a rush of some swordsmen into the gateway, and nearly sabred while upon the ground.

(Signed) A. G. PEAT, Capt. Bombay Engineers.

No. V.

CABUL.

NOTIFICATION BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Secret Department.

Simla, 26th August, 1839.

THE Governor General of India publishes for general information, the subjoined copy and extracts

of despatches from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, and from the Envoy and Minister at the Court of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, announcing the triumphant entry of the Shah into Cabool on the 7th instant.

In issuing this notification, the Governor General cannot omit the opportunity of offering to the officers and men composing the army of the Indus, and to the distinguished leader by whom they have been commanded, the cordial congratulations of the Government upon the happy result of a campaign, which, on the sole occasion when resistance was opposed to them, has been gloriously marked by victory, and in all the many difficulties of which the character of a British army for gallantry, good conduct, and discipline has been nobly maintained.

A salute of twenty-one guns will be fired on the receipt of this intelligence at all the principal stations of the army, in the three Presidencies.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AUCKLAND, G.C.B. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—We have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that the army marched from Ghuznee en route to Cabool, in two columns, on the 30th and 31st ultimo, his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

with his own troops forming part of the second column.

On the arrival of the Commander-in-chief with the first column at Hyder Khail on the 1st instant, information reached him, and the same reached the Envoy and Minister at Huft Assaya, that Dost Mahommed with his army and artillery were advancing from Cabool, and would probably take up a position at Urghundee or Midan (the former twenty-four, the latter thirty-six miles from Cabool). Upon this it was arranged that his Majesty, with the second column under Major-General Willshire, should join the first column here, and advance together to attack Dost Mahommed, whose son, Mahommed Akhbar, had been recalled from Jellalabad with the troops guarding the Khyber Pass, and had formed a junction with his father, their joint forces, according to our information, amounting to about 13,000 men.

Every arrangement was made for the King and the army marching in a body from here to-morrow; but in the course of the night messengers arrived, and since (this morning), a great many chiefs and their followers, announcing the dissolution of Dost Mahommed's army, by the refusal of the greater part to advance against us with him, and that he had in consequence fled with a party of three hundred horsemen in the direction of Bamian, leaving his guns behind him in position as they were placed at Urghundee.

His Majesty Shah Shooja has sent forward a confidential officer, with whom has been associated Major Cureton, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, taking with him a party of two hundred men and an officer of artillery, to proceed direct to take possession of those guns, and afterwards such other guns and public stores, as may be found in Cabool and the Balla Hissar, in the name of, and for his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and the King's order will be carried by his own officer with this party, for preserving the tranquillity of the city of Cabool.

A strong party has been detached in pursuit of Dost Mahommed under some of our most active officers. We continue our march upon Cabool tomorrow, and will reach it on the third day. We have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KEANE, L^t.-Genl.
Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Envoy and Minister.

Head-quarters, Camp Shikarbad, 3rd August, 1839.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Extract of a letter, from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B. and G.C.H., dated Head-quarters, Camp Cabool, 8th August, 1839.

It gives me infinite pleasure to be able to address my despatch to your Lordship from the capital, the vicinity of which his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

and the army under my command, reached the day before yesterday. The King entered his capital yesterday afternoon, accompanied by the British Envoy and Minister and the gentlemen of the mission, and by myself, the Generals and Staff-officers of this army, and escorted by a squadron of her Majesty's 4th Light Dragoons, and one of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, with Captain Martin's troop of horse artillery. His Majesty had expressed a wish that British troops should be present on the occasion, and a very small party only of his own Hindostanee and Affghan troops. After the animating scene of traversing the streets and reaching the palace in the Balla Hissar, a royal salute was fired, and an additional salvo in the Affghan style, from small guns resembling wall-pieces, named jingalls, and carried on camels. We heartily congratulated his Majesty on being in possession of the throne and kingdom of his ancestors, and upon the overthrow of his enemies, and after taking leave of his Majesty, we returned to our camp.

I trust we have thus accomplished all the objects which your Lordship had in contemplation, when you planned and formed the Army of the Indus, and the expedition into Affghanistan.

The conduct of the army, both European and Native, which your Lordship did me the honour to place under my orders, has been admirable throughout, and notwithstanding the severe marching and

privations they have gone through, their appearance and discipline have suffered nothing, and the opportunity afforded them at Ghuznee, of meeting and conquering their enemy, has added greatly to their good spirits.

The joint despatch addressed by Mr. Macnaghten and myself to your Lordship on the 3rd instant from Shikarbad, will have informed you, that at the moment we had made every preparation to attack (on the following day) Dost Mahommed Khan, in his position at Urghundee, where, after his son Mahommed Akhbar had joined him from Jellalabad, he had an army amounting to 13,000 men, well armed and appointed, and thirty pieces of artillery, we suddenly learned that he abandoned them all, and fled with a party of horsemen on the road to Bamian, leaving his guns in position as he had placed them to receive our attack.

It appears that a great part of his army, which was hourly becoming disorganized, refused to stand by him in the position, to receive our attack, and that it soon became in a state of dissolution. The great bulk immediately came over to Shah Shooja, tendering their allegiance, and I believe his Majesty will take most of them into his pay.

It seems that the news of the quick and determined manner in which we took their stronghold, Ghuznee, had such an effect upon the population of Cabool, and perhaps also upon the enemy's army,

that Dost Mahommed, from that moment, began to lose hope of retaining his rule for even a short time longer, and sent off his family and valuable property towards Bamian, but marched out of Cabool with his army and artillery, keeping a bold front towards us until the evening of the 2nd, when all his hopes were at an end by a division in his own camp, and one part of his army abandoning him. So precipitate was his flight, that he left in position his guns, with their ammunition and waggons, and the greater part of the cattle by which they were drawn. Major Cureton, of her Majesty's 16th Lancers, with his party of two hundred men, pushed forward on the 3rd, and took possession of those guns, &c. There were twenty-three brass guns in position and loaded, two more at a little distance which they attempted to take away, and since then, three more abandoned still further off on the Bamian road; thus leaving in our possession twenty-eight pieces of cannon, with all the material belonging to them, which are now handed over to Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Extract of a letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Esq. Envoy and Minister to the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, dated Cabool, 8th August, 1839.

By a letter signed jointly by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane and myself, dated the 3rd instant, the Right Honourable the

Governor General was apprised of the flight of Dost Mahommed Khan.

The ex-chief was not accompanied by any person of consequence, and his followers are said to have been reduced to below the number of one hundred, on the day of his departure. In the progress of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk towards Cabul, his Majesty was joined by every person of rank and influence in the country, and he made his triumphal entry into the city, on the evening of the 7th inst. His Majesty has taken up his residence in the Balla Hissar, where he has required the British mission to remain for the present.

T. H. MADDOCK,
Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

No. VI.

GENERAL ORDERS.

By the Right Honourable the Governor General of India on the breaking up of the Army of the Indus.

Secret Department.

Camp Paniput, 16th November, 1839.

Intelligence was this day received of the arrival, within the Peshawur territory, of his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, G.C.B. and G.C.H. Commander-in-chief of the army of the Indus, with a portion of that force on its return to the British provinces. The military operations under

the direction of his Excellency, having now been brought to a close, the Right Honourable the Governor General has, on the part of the Government of India, to acquit himself of the gratifying duty of offering publicly his warmest thanks to his Excellency and to the officers and men who have served under his command, for the soldier-like spirit and conduct of all ranks throughout the late campaign; and he again cordially congratulates them on the attainment of the great objects of national security and honour for which the expedition was undertaken.

The plans of aggression by which the British empire in India was dangerously threatened, have, under Providence, been arrested. The chiefs of Cabool and Candahar, who had joined in hostile designs against us, have been deprived of power, and the territories which they ruled have been restored to the government of a friendly monarch. The Ameers of Scinde have acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and ranged themselves under its protection. Their country will now be an outwork of defence, and the navigation of the Indus within their dominions, exempt from all duties, has been opened to commercial enterprise. With the allied Government of the Sikhs, the closest harmony has been maintained; and on the side of Herat, the British alliance has been courted, and a good understanding, with a view to common safety, has been established with that power.

For these important results, the Governor General is proud to express the acknowledgment of the Government to the Army of the Indus, which, alike by its valour, its discipline and cheerfulness under hardships and privations, and its conciliatory conduct to the inhabitants of the countries through which it passed, has earned respect for the British name, and has confirmed in central Asia a just impression of British energy and resources.

The native and European soldier have vied with each other in effort and endurance. A march of extraordinary length, through difficult and untried countries, has been within a few months successfully accomplished. And in the capture of the one stronghold where resistance was attempted, a trophy of victory has been won which will add a fresh lustre to the reputation of the armies of India.

To Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-chief of the army, the Governor General would particularly declare his thanks for his direction of these honourable achievements. He would especially acknowledge the marked forbearance, and just appreciation of the views of the Government, which guided his Excellency in his intercourse with the Ameers of Scinde. He feels the Government to be under the deepest obligations to his Excellency for the unshaken firmness of purpose with which, throughout the whole course of the operations, obstacles and discouragements were disregarded, and

the prescribed objects of policy were pursued. And above all, he would warmly applaud the decisive judgment with which the attack upon the fortress of Ghuznee was planned and its capture effected. Nor would he omit to remark upon that spirit of perfect co-operation with which his Excellency gave all support to the political authorities with whom he was associated. Mr. Macnaghten, the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and Colonel Pottinger, the resident in Scinde, have been chiefly enabled by the cordial good understanding which has throughout subsisted between them and his Excellency, to render the important services by which they have entitled themselves to the high approbation of the Government; and his Lordship has much pleasure in noticing the feelings of satisfaction with which his Excellency regarded the valuable services of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, who was politically attached to him in the advance upon Ghuznee.

The Governor General would follow his Excellency the Commander-in-chief in acknowledging the manner in which Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, K. C. B. and K. C. H. exercised his command of the Bengal division throughout the campaign, and supported the honour of his country on the 23rd of July; and his Lordship would also offer the thanks of the Government to Major-General Willshire, C. B. commanding the 2nd Infantry di-

vision; to Major-General Thackwell, C.B. and K.H. commanding the Bengal division; to Brigadier Roberts, commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade; to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery of the army; to Brigadier Scott, commanding the Bombay Cavalry Brigade; and to Brigadier Persse, upon whom, on the lamented death of the late Brigadier Arnold, devolved the command of the Bengal Cavalry Brigade; as well as to the Commandants of corps and detachments, with the Officers and men under their respective commands, and to the Officers at the head of the several departments, with all of whom his Excellency the Commander-in-chief has expressed his high satisfaction.

To Brigadier Sale, C.B. already honourably distinguished in the annals of Indian warfare, who commanded the storming party at Ghuznee; to Lieut.-Colonel Dennie, C.B. who led the advance on the same occasion; and to Captain George Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, whose services in the capture of that fortress have been noticed in marked terms of commendation by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief; and to Captain Peat, of the Bombay Engineers; and to Lieutenants Durand and M'Leod, of the Bengal Engineers, and the other officers and men of the Bengal and Bombay Engineers under their command, the Governor General would especially tender the expression of his admiration of the gallantry and science which they respectively displayed in the exe-

cution of the important duties confided to them in that memorable operation.

In testimony of the services of the army of the Indus, the Governor General is pleased to resolve, that all the corps, European and Native, in the service of the East India Company, which proceeded beyond the Bolan Pass, shall have on their regimental colours the word "Affghanistan," and such of them as were employed in the reduction of the fortress of that name, the word "Ghuznee" in addition.

In behalf of the Queen's regiments, the Governor General will recommend to her Majesty, through the proper channel, that the same distinction may be granted to them.

The Governor General would here notice with approbation the praiseworthy conduct, during this expedition, of the officers and men attached to the disciplined force of his Majesty Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk. This force was newly raised, and opportunities had not been afforded for its perfect organization and instruction. But it shared honourably in the labours and difficulties of the campaign, and it had the good fortune in repelling an attack made by the enemy in force, on the day prior to the storming of Ghuznee, to be enabled to give promise of the excellent service which may hereafter be expected from it.

His Lordship has also much satisfaction in adding that the best acknowledgments of the Government

are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was employed upon the Peshawur frontier, and who, gallantly supported by the officers and men of all ranks under him, and seconded by the cordial aid of the Sikh Government, — an aid, the more honourable, because rendered at a painful crisis of its affairs,— opened the Khyber Pass, and overthrew the authority of the enemy at that quarter, at the moment when the advance of the forces of the Shahzadah Timoor could most conduce to the success of the general operation.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to the Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

Camp Paniput, 18th November, 1839.

The Right Honourable the Governor General, having taken into consideration the heavy losses and expenses incurred by the commissioned officers and European troops serving with the Army of the Indus, and being desirous also to mark his admiration of the intrepidity and soldier-like bearing evinced by all portions of that army, European and Native, during the recent campaign in Affghanistan, has been pleased to resolve that a donation of six months full or field-batta shall be granted to the officers and fighting men of every rank attached to the army, who advanced beyond the Bolan Pass.

The Honourable the President in Council is re-

quested to issue such subsidiary orders as may be necessary for giving effect to his Lordship's resolution.

J. STUART, Lieut.-Col.
Sec. to the Gov. of India Mil. Dep^t., with the Gov. Gen.

No. VII.

KHELAT.

Secret Department.

Camp Deothanee, 4th December, 1839.

The many outrages and murders committed, in attacks on the followers of the Army of the Indus, by the plundering tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass, at the instigation of their Chief, Meer Mehrab Khan of Khelat, at a time when he was professing friendship for the British Government, and negotiating a treaty with its representatives, having compelled the Government to direct a detachment of the army to proceed to Khelat for the exaction of retribution from that chieftain, and for the execution of such arrangements as would establish future security in that quarter, a force under the orders of Major-General Willshire, C. B. was employed on this service, and the Right Honourable the Governor General of India having this day received that officer's report of the successful accomplishment of the objects entrusted to him, has been pleased to direct that the following copy of the despatch dated 14th ultimo be published for general information.

The Right Honourable the Governor General is happy to avail himself of this opportunity to record his high admiration of the signal gallantry and spirit of the troops engaged on this occasion, and offers, on the part of the Government, his best thanks to Major-General Willshire and to the officers and men who served under him.

T. H. MADDOCK.

Offg. Sec. to Gov. of India, with the Gov. Gen.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD AUCKLAND, G.C.B.
Governor General of India, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—In obedience to the joint instructions furnished me by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Indus, and the Envoy and Minister to his Majesty Shah Shooja, under date Cabool, the 17th September 1839, deputing to me the duty of deposing Mehrab Khan of Khelat, in consequence of the avowed hostility of that Chief to the British nation, during the present campaign, I have the honour to report that on my arrival at Quetta on the 31st ultimo, I communicated with Captain Bean the political agent in Shawl, and arranged with him the best means of giving effect to the orders I had received.

In consequence of the want of public carriage, and the limited quantity of commissariat supplies at Quetta, as well as the reported want of forage on the route to Khelat, I was obliged to despatch to Cutch Gandava the whole of the cavalry and the greater portion of

the artillery, taking with me only the troops noted in the margin,* leaving Quetta on the 3rd instant.

During the march the communications received from Mehrab Khan were so far from acceding to the terms offered, that he threatened resistance if the troops approached his capital; I therefore proceeded and arrived at the village of Giranee, within eight miles of Khelat, on the 12th instant.

Marching from hence the following morning, a body of horse were perceived on the right of the road, which commenced firing on the advanced guard, commanded by Major Pennycuick, her Majesty's 17th Regiment, as the column advanced; and skirmishing between them continued until we came in sight of Khelat, rather less than a mile distance.

I now discovered that three heights on the N. W. face of the fort, and parallel to the north, were covered with infantry, with five guns in position, protected by small parapet walls.

Captain Peat, Chief Engineer, immediately reconnoitred, and having reported that nothing could be done until those heights were in our possession, I decided at once on storming them simultaneously, and if practicable, entering the fort with the fugitives, as the gate in the northern face was occasionally opened

* Two guns, Bombay Horse Artillery.—Four guns, Shah's Artillery.—Two Ressalas Local Horse.—Queen's Royals.—Her Majesty's 17th Regiment.—31st Bengal N. I.—Bombay Engineers.

to keep up the communication between the fort and the heights.

To effect this object I detached a company from each of the European regiments forming the advanced guard with Major Pennycuick, her Majesty's 17th Regiment, for the purpose of occupying the gardens and enclosures to the north-east of the town, and two more companies in the plain, midway between them and the column; at the same time I ordered three columns of attack to be formed, composed of four companies from each corps, under their respective commanding officers, Major Carruthers of the Queen's, Lieutenant-Colonel Croker her Majesty's 17th Regiment, and Major Western 31st Bengal Native Infantry, the whole under the command of Brigadier Baumgardt; the remainder of the regiments forming three columns of reserve under my own direction to move in support.

A hill being allotted to each column, Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the artillery, moved quickly forward in front, towards the base of the heights, and when, within the required range, opened a fire upon the infantry and guns, under cover of which the columns moved steadily on, and commenced the ascent for the purpose of carrying the heights exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, which had commenced while the columns of attack were forming.

Before the columns reached their respective sum-

mits of the hills, the enemy, overpowered by the superior and well-directed fire of our artillery, had abandoned them, attempting to carry off their guns, but which they were unable to do. At this moment it appearing to me the opportunity offered for the troops to get in with the fugitives, and if possible, gain possession of the gate of the fortress, I despatched orders to the Queen's Royal and her Majesty's 17th Regiment to make a rush from the heights for that purpose, following myself to the summit of the nearest to observe the result: at this moment, the four companies on my left, which had been detached to the gardens and plains, seeing the chance that offered of entering the fort, moved rapidly forward from their respective points towards the gateway, under a heavy and well-directed fire from the walls of the fort and citadel, which were thronged by the enemy.

The gate having been closed before the troops moving towards it could effect the desired object, and the garrison strengthened by the enemy driven from the heights, they were compelled to cover themselves, as far as practicable, behind some walls and ruined buildings to the right and left of it; while Brigadier Stevenson, having ascended the heights with the artillery, opened two guns under the command of Lieutenant Foster, Bombay Horse Artillery, upon the defences above its gates and vicinity, while the fire of two others, commanded by Lieutenant Cowper, Shah's Artillery, was directed against the gate itself,

the remaining two, with Lieutenant Creed, being sent round to the road on the left, leading direct up to the gate, and when within two hundred yards commenced a fire for the purpose of blowing it open, and after a few rounds they succeeded in knocking in one-half of it. On observing this, I rode down the hill towards the gate, pointing to it, thereby announcing to the troops it was open; they instantly rose from their cover, and rushed in; those under the command of Major Pennycuick, being the nearest, were the first to gain the gate, headed by that officer; the whole of the storming column from the three regiments rapidly following and gaining an entrance as quickly as it was possible to do so, under a heavy fire from the works and from the interior, the enemy making a most gallant and determined resistance, disputing every inch of ground up to the walls of the inner citadel.

At this time I directed the reserve columns to be brought near the gate, and detached one company of the 17th Regiment under Captain Darby, to the western side of the fort, followed by a portion of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, commanded by Major Western, conducted by Captain Outram, acting as my extra aide-de-camp, for the purpose of securing the heights under which the southern angle is situated, and intercepting any of the garrison escaping from that side. Having driven off the enemy from the heights above, the united detachments then descended to the gate of the fort below, and forced it open

before the garrison (who closed it as they saw the troops approach) had time to secure it.

When the party was detached by the western face, I also sent two companies from the reserve of the 17th under Major Deshon, and two guns of the Shah's Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Creed, Bombay Artillery, by the eastern to the southern face, for the purpose of blowing open the gate above alluded to, had it been necessary, as well as the gate of the inner citadel, the infantry, joining the other detachments, making their way through the town in the direction of the citadel.

After some delay, the troops that held possession of the town at length succeeded in forcing an entrance into the citadel, where a desperate resistance was made by Mehrab Khan at the head of his people, he himself, with many of his chiefs, being killed sword in hand; several others, however, kept up a fire upon our troops from detached buildings difficult of access; and it was not until late in the afternoon, that those who survived were induced to give themselves up on a promise of their lives being spared.

From every account, I have reason to believe the garrison consisted of upwards of 2,000 fighting-men, and that the son of Mehrab Khan had been expected to join him from Nowsky with a further reinforcement. The enclosed return will show the strength of the force under my command present at the capture.

The defences of the fort, as in the case of Ghuznee, far exceeded in strength what I had been led to suppose from previous report, and the towering height of the inner citadel was most formidable, both in appearance and reality.

I lament to say, that the loss of killed and wounded on our side has been severe, as will be seen by the accompanying return: that on the part of the enemy must have been great, but the exact number I have not been able to ascertain. Several hundreds of prisoners were taken, from whom the Political Agent has selected those he considers it necessary for the present to retain in confinement; the remainder have been liberated.

It is quite impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the gallant and steady conduct of the officers and men upon this occasion: but the fact of less than an hour having elapsed from the formation of the columns for the attack, to the period of the troops being within the fort, and that performed in the open day and in the face of an enemy so very superior in number and so perfectly prepared for resistance, will, I trust, convince your Lordship how deserving the officers and troops are of my warmest thanks, and of the highest praise that can be bestowed.

To Brigadier Baumgardt, commanding the storming column, my best thanks are due, and he reports that Captain Wyllie, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Gilland, his Aides-de-camp, ably assisted him and zealously performed their duties;

also to Brigadier Stevenson, commanding the Artillery, and Lieutenants Forster and Cowper, respectively in charge of the Bombay and Shah's Artillery, I feel greatly indebted for the steady and scientific manner in which the service of dislodging the enemy from the heights, and afterwards effecting an entrance into the fort, was performed. The Brigadier has brought to my notice the assistance he received from Captain Coghlan his Brigade Major, Lieutenant Woosnam his Aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Creed when in battery yesterday.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Croker, commanding her Majesty's 17th Regiment, Major Carruthers, commanding the Queen's Royals, Major Western, commanding the Bengal 31st Native Infantry, I feel highly indebted for the manner in which they conducted their respective columns to the attack of the heights, and afterwards to the assault of the fort, as well as to Major Pennycuick of the 17th, who led the advanced guard companies to the same point.

To Captain Peat, Chief Engineer, and to the officers and men of the engineer corps, my acknowledgments are due: to Major Neil Campbell, Acting Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army; to Captain Hagart, Acting Deputy Adjutant-General, and to Lieutenant Ramsay, Acting Assistant Quartermaster-General, my best thanks are due for the able assistance afforded me by their services.

It is with much pleasure I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Major Campbell

for relieving me from the necessity of returning by the route by which the army advanced to Cabool, which, being entirely exhausted, must have subjected the troops to great privations, and the horses to absolute starvation: the Quartermaster-General took upon himself the responsibility of leading my column through the heart of Ghiljee and Koohul countries, never hitherto traversed by Europeans, by which our route was considerably shortened, a sufficiency obtained, and great additions made to our geographical knowledge of the country, besides great political advantages obtained in peaceably settling those districts.

From my Aides-de-camp, Captain Robinson and Lieutenant Halkett, as well as Captain Outram, who volunteered his services on my personal staff, I received the utmost assistance; and to the latter officer I feel greatly indebted for the zeal and ability with which he has performed various duties that I have required of him, upon other occasions as well as the present.

It is with much satisfaction I am able to state that the utmost cordiality has existed between the political authorities and myself, and to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from Captain Bean in obtaining supplies.

After allowing time to make the necessary arrangements for continuing my march, I shall descend into Cutch Gundava by the Moona Pass,

having received a favourable report of the practicability of taking guns that way.

I have deputed Captain Outram to take a duplicate of the despatch to the Honourable the Governor of Bombay by the direct route from hence to Sonmeanee Bunder, the practicability or otherwise of which for the passage of troops I consider it an object of importance to ascertain. I have, &c.

(Signed) T. WILLSHIRE, Major-General,
Commanding Bombay Column Army of the Indus.

Return of Casualties in the Army under the command of Major General Willshire, C.B. employed at the storming of Khelat, on the 13th November 1839.

CORPS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.									Total killed and wounded.	HORSES	
	Lieutenants.	Subedars.	Rank and File.	Total.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Jemadars.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Regt. Bheestees.	Total.		Killed.	Wounded.
Detachment 3rd Troop Horse Artillery . .	None.																
1st Troop Kaubool Artillery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	6
Gun Lascars attached to ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment . .	1	0	21	22	2	2	0	1	0	2	0	40	0	47	69	0	1
H. M.'s 17th Regiment	0	0	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	29	0	33	39	0	0
31st Regiment Bengal Native Infantry . .	0	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	14	1	22	25	0	0
Sappers, Miners, and Pioneers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
2 Resillas of the 4th Bengal Local Horse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Total . . .	1	1	29	31	4	2	1	1	2	8	1	87	1	107	138	0	7

Missing, None.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

KILLED. REMARKS.

Corps. Rank and Names.

H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Reg. Lieut. P. [illegible]

1 Corporal, since dead.

WOUNDED.

H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Reg. Capt. W. M. [illegible]

ditto....ditto....ditto....Capt. T. Sealey, ditto.

ditto....ditto....ditto....Lt. T. W. E. Holdsworth, do.

ditto....ditto....ditto....Lt. D. J. Dickinson, slightly.

ditto....ditto....ditto....Adj. J. E. Simmons, severely.

H. M.'s 17th Regiment .....Capt. L. C. Bonschier, ditto.

31st Reg. Bengal Native Infantry, Capt. Lawrin, slightly.

ditto....ditto....ditto....Ensign Hopper, severely.

(Signed) C. HAGART, Captain,

Acting Deputy Adjutant-General B. C.

State of the Corps engaged at the storming of Khelat on the 13th November 1839 Under the command of Major General Willshire, C.B.

Camp at Khelat, 14th November 1839.

CORPS.	Major-Generals.	Brigadiers.	Aides-de-camp.	Act. Deputy Adjt. Gen.	Act. Qr.-master-Gen.	Dep.-Ass. Qr.-mr.-Gen.	Brigade Majors.	Sub-Asst. Comsy. Gen.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Quarter-masters.	Surgeons.	Assistant Surgeons.	Native Officers.	Sub-Conductors.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.
Staff . . .	1	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Detachment 3rd Troop Horse Artillery .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	36
1st Troop of Cabool Artillery . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	58
H. M.'s 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	31	10	0	290
H. M.'s 17th Regiment . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	13	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	29	9	0	336
31st Regiment Bengal Native Infantry .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	1	1	0	12	0	30	14	0	329
Total . .	1	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	9	26	5	2	2	2	0	12	0	100	34	1	1049

NOTE.—Two Ressallas of the Bengal Local Horse remained in charge of the Baggage during the attack.

(Signed) C. HAGART, Captain,
Acting Deputy Adjutant-General Bombay Column Army of the Indus.

List of Belooche Sirdars killed in the Assault of Khelat, on the 13th November 1839.

NAMES.	REMARKS.
Meer Mehrab Khan	Chief of Khelat.
Meer Wullee Mahomed	The Muengal Sirdar of Wudd.
Abdool Kurreem	Ruhsanee Sirdar.
Dan Kurreem	Shuhwanee Sirdar.
Mahomed Ruza	Nephew of the Vuzeer, Mahomed Hossain.
Khysur Khan	Ahschiee Sirdar.
Dewan Bechah Mull	Financial Minister.
Noor Mahomed and Tajoo Mahomed	Shahgassee Sirdars.

PRISONERS.

Mahomed Hussen ..... Wuzzeer.
Moollah Ruheem Dad ..... Ex-Naib of Shawl.
With several others of inferior rank.

(Signed) J. D. D. BEAN,
Political Agent.

(True Copies.)

T. H. MADDOCK.
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India with the Governor General.

No VIII.

Circular No. 15 of 1840.

Superintending Surgeon's Office, Sukkur, 11th Jan. 1840.

Superintending Surgeon Kennedy, having received intimation of his promotion to a seat at the Medical Board, with orders to proceed to the Presidency, will deliver over his charge on the 13th instant to Staff-

surgeon Pinhey, to whom all reports and references are to be made until further orders.

Superintending Surgeon Kennedy cannot take leave of the medical officers with whom he has been associated in this division without expressing in the warmest terms his sense of obligation for the manner in which all departmental duties, both professional and financial, have been carried on during the campaign; and he will not fail to state to the Medical Board that it is to this zealous co-operation he is indebted for the most flattering testimonial to the efficiency of the department with which he has been honoured by the Major-General commanding the division.

The lamented deaths of Surgeon Hamilton, her Majesty's 17th Regiment; of Surgeon Forbes, 1st Regiment Light Cavalry; Assistant Surgeon Hibbert, her Majesty's Queen's Royals; and Assistant Surgeon Halloran, on general duty; the departure to Bombay of Surgeon Graham, on sick certificate, and the removal of Assistant Surgeons Ritchie, Grant, and Gillanders from the Bombay Division to the Political Department in Affghanistan, have considerably reduced the establishment, and necessarily added to the labour of all who remained; but the Superintending Surgeon feels much pride and much gratification in recording that at the conclusion of such a campaign, when the utmost energies and resources of every individual were required to meet

many very trying emergencies, no one has been found wanting; and the conduct of the Medical Department has met the unqualified approbation of superior authority.

R. HARTLEY KENNEDY,
Superintending Surgeon.

Extract from Column Orders.

By Major-General WILLSHIRE, C.B.

Camp at Sukkur, Friday, 10th January 1840.

Under instructions from Government, Superintending Surgeon Kennedy will proceed to Bombay on the 13th instant, to take his seat at the Medical Board on promotion.

The Major-General cannot permit Superintending Surgeon Kennedy to leave the Bombay column of the army, without begging him to accept his best thanks for the very perfect manner in which he has at all times conducted the duties of the Medical Department, and by which the Major-General, during the period he has commanded the column, has been saved from ever, for a moment, having occasion to feel the slightest anxiety relative to the arrangements for, and care of, the sick of the column, under the very great difficulties he, and the other officers of his department, had to contend with.

Surgeon Pinhey, the Senior Surgeon in Sinde, is

RULERS OF INDIA

THE CLARENDON PRESS SERIES OF INDIAN HISTORICAL RETROSPECTS

Edited by Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Price 2s. 6d. each

The following volumes have been arranged for:—

I. *ASOKA: and the Political Organisation of Ancient India*, by Professor Rhys-Davids, LL.D., Ph.D., Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor of Páli and Buddhist Literature at University College, London; Author of *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1881; *Buddhism*, &c.

II. *AKBAR: and the Rise of the Mughal Empire*, by Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., Author of *A History of the Indian Mutiny; The History of Afghanistan; Herat*, &c. [Published.]

III. *AURANGZEB; and the Decay of the Mughal Empire*, by Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., LL.D.

IV. *LORD CLIVE*: and the Establishment of the English in India*, by Professor Seeley, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Author of *The Expansion of England*, &c.

V. *DUPLEIX: and the Struggle for India by the European Nations*, by Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., Author of *The History of the French in India*, &c. [Published.]

VI. *WARREN HASTINGS: and the Founding of the British Administration*, by Captain L. J. Trotter, Author of *India under Victoria*, &c. [Published.]

VII. *THE MARQUESS OF CORNWALLIS: and the Consolidation of British Rule*, by W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., sometime Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Author of *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes*, 3 vols. (1784–1805). [Published.]

VIII. *RANJIT SINGH: and the Sikh barrier between our Growing Empire and Central Asia*, by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Author of *The Punjab Chiefs*, &c.

* Provisionally arranged for.

IX. *MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE: and the Making of South-Western India*, by J. S. COTTON, Esq., M.A., formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Author of *The Decennial Statement of the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India*, presented to Parliament (1885), &c.

X. *LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK: and the Company as a Governing and Non-trading Power*, by DEMETRIUS BOULGER, Esq., Author of *England and Russia in Central Asia*, *The History of China*, &c.

XI. *THE MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE: and the Final Development of the Company's Rule*, by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. [Published.]

XII. *CLYDE AND STRATHNAIRN: and the Suppression of the Great Revolt*, by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNE, K.C.S.I., sometime Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in India.

XIII. *EARL CANNING: and the Transfer of India from the Company to the Crown*, by SIR HENRY S. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., M.A., Author of *British India and its Rulers*, &c.

XIV. *THE EARL OF MAYO: and the Consolidation of the Queen's Rule in India*, by SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. [Shortly.]

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, LONDON, AND ALL BOOKSELLERS. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* each volume.

Opinions of the Press

ON

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S 'DALHOUSIE.'

'An interesting and exceedingly readable volume. . . . . Sir William Hunter has produced a valuable work about an important epoch in English history in India, and he has given us a pleasing insight into the character of a remarkable Englishman. The "Rulers of India" series, which he has initiated, thus makes a successful beginning in his hands with one who ranks among the greatest of the great names which will be associated with the subject.'—*The Times.*

'To no one is the credit for the improved condition of public intelligence [regarding India] more due than to Sir William Hunter. From the beginning of his career as an Indian Civilian he has devoted a rare literary faculty to the task of enlightening his countrymen on the subject of England's greatest dependency . . . . By inspiring a small army of fellow-labourers with his own spirit, by inducing them to conform to his

Opinions of the Press

ON

CAPTAIN TROTTER'S 'WARREN HASTINGS.'

'The publication, recently noticed in this place, of the "Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772–1785," has thrown entirely new light from the most authentic sources on the whole history of Warren Hastings and his government of India. Captain L. J. Trotter's WARREN HASTINGS, a volume of the "Rulers of India" series, edited by Sir W. Hunter (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press), is accordingly neither inopportune nor devoid of an adequate *raison d'être*. "The present volume," says a brief preface, "endeavours to exhibit for the first time the actual work of that great Governor-General, as reviewed from the firm standpoint of the original records now made available to the students of Indian history." Captain Trotter is well known as a competent and attractive writer on Indian history, and this is not the first time that Warren Hastings has supplied him with a theme.'—*The Times.*

'He has put his best work into this memoir. . . Captain Trotter's memoir is more valuable [than Sir A. Lyall's] from a strictly historical point of view. It contains more of the history of the period, and it embraces the very latest information that casts light on Hastings' remarkable career. . . His work too is of distinct literary merit, and is worthy of a theme than which British history presents none nobler. It is a distinct gain to the British race to be enabled, as it now may, to count the great Governor-General among those heroes for whom it need not blush.'—*Scotsman.*

'Captain Trotter has done his work well, and his volume deserves to stand with that on Dalhousie by Sir William Hunter. Higher praise it would be hard to give it.'—*New York Herald.*

'This is an able book, written with candour and discrimination.'—*Leeds Mercury.*

'Captain Trotter has done full justice to the fascinating story of the splendid achievements of a great Englishman.'—*Manchester Guardian.*

'This neat little volume contains a brief but admirable biography of the first Governor-General of India. The author has been fortunate in having had access to State Papers which cover the period of the entire rule of Warren Hastings.'—*The Newcastle Chronicle.*

'In preparing this sketch for "The Rulers of India," Captain Trotter has had the advantage of consulting the "Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772–1785," a period which covers the entire administration of Warren Hastings. The present volume, therefore, may truly claim that it "exhibits for the first time the actual work of the great Governor-General, as reviewed from the firm stand-point of original records." It is a book which all must peruse who desire to be "up to date" on the subject.'—*The Globe.*

00088580

Digitized with financial assistance from
NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach
on 07 January, 2017